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A
MANUAL
FOR SURVIVAL

(A COUNTER-SUBVERSIVE STUDY COURSE)

A MANUAL FOR SURVIVAL

(A COUNTER-SUBVERSIVE STUDY COURSE)



Compiled and Published by

The Church League of America

WHEATON, ILLINOIS

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A MANUAL FOR SURVIVAL

"It is characteristic of any decaying civilization that the great masses of the people are unconscious of the tragedy. Humanity in a crisis is generally insensitive to the gravity of the times in which it lives. Men do not want to believe their own times are wicked, partly because it involves too much self-accusation and principally because they have no standards outside of themselves by which to measure their times. If there is no fixed concept of justice how shall men know it is violated? Only those who live by faith really know what is happening in the world; the great masses without faith are unconscious of the destructive processes going on, because they have lost the vision of the heights from which they are fallen." (Bishop Fulton Sheen in **Communism and the Conscience of the West**, 1948.)

"Because of the widespread ignorance and confusion among the American people concerning the nature of Communism, its tactics and purposes, there is need for the counter-agent of education." (Foreword to "**Brief on Communism**"—American Bar Association, 1952.)

"Whatever the Communist Party once was, today it is a prison for man's best and boldest dreams. Tomorrow belongs to those who break down the prison walls that enclose the minds of men, not those who support such walls."

X Howard Fast, former
Communist in "The
Naked God."

FOREWORD

In February, 1948, James Burnham, a professor and nationally known authority on Communism appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington. The committee was considering legislation to "curb or control the Communist Party, USA." Dr. Burnham told the committee:

"Totalitarianism has nevertheless, since its first major eruption in 1917, conquered a steadily expanding percentage of the nations and peoples of the earth. The defeat of the major Fascist totalitarianisms in the Second World War has already been more than counterbalanced by the further spread of Communist totalitarianism.

"These two facts seem to prove that the methods so far used for the defense of democracy are not adequate. If the process of the past 30 years continues unchecked, we must anticipate the world defeat of democracy." (Emphasis supplied.)

The process of befuddlement, bungling, apathy, appeasement, and retreat in the face of steadily advancing world Communism has continued for the past thirteen years since Dr. Burnham uttered his dire warning which few Americans heeded or even heard about.

Dr. Burnham then depicted world Communism as a conspirative movement, politically based on terror and mass deception, which has for its objective the conquest of a monopoly of world power. . . . "Their object, as stated in their own words and proved by their own actions, is to smash and destroy the institutions of non-communist society, and to substitute new revolutionary social arrangements that will guarantee their own monopoly of power."

He also warned that "so long as Communism remains a major world force it is impossible for any given nation to solve fully its own internal Communist problems by purely internal measures. The full solution requires an adequate world policy." He did concede that partial solutions for internal subversion could be provided by correct internal measures and that these in turn would contribute to a world solution of the Communist menace.

Dr. Burnham as one of this country's outstanding authorities on Communism listed these imperative internal measures as three-fold: education, exposure, and illegalization.

"1. Education. The people should be informed accurately and continuously, about the nature and activities and strategy and tactics of communism. This educational task can be in part accomplished by qualified and concerned private citizens. Its scope and importance are such, however, that supplementary activities by the government are also needed.

"2. Exposure. Communism is peculiarly characterized by the systematic use of deception. Communists perform in a perpetual masquerade. As individuals and in

groups they appear before the public today as 'progressives,' tomorrow as 'patriots,' last week as 'liberals,' next month as simple 'humanitarians,' tonight as 'defenders of free speech,' yesterday as 'honest trade unionists,' at breakfast as 'Twentieth Century Americans,' and at dinner as 'the voice of the people.' It is impossible for an ordinary citizen to keep track of all such disguises. The defense against Communism therefore requires a continuous campaign of exposure. The masks must be stripped from Communist individuals and from Communist front organizations. They must be labeled for what they are, so that every citizen may know, and be guided by his knowledge. This continuous exposure also needs the aid of government resources and agencies."

Education **against** Communism, for obvious reasons, under a system of government such as ours, must of necessity remain largely the responsibility of non-government agencies. The United States Supreme Court, in a number of decisions which this manual will take up in a separate chapter, has made the assertion that while Congress may legitimately investigate in order to inform itself for legislative purposes it may not use its investigatory powers merely to expose.

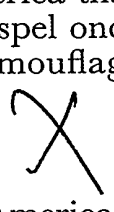
Congressional committees still circumvent these Supreme Court hobbles to a certain extent. However, proving legislative intent while ferreting out and exposing important Communist conspirators is becoming increasingly difficult as those summoned before such committees insist on proof of legislative purpose before they will answer even the most harmless and routine questions. This, then, would seem to leave the onerous and tricky task of exposure almost entirely the responsibility of private, patriotically inclined organizations with all the attendant hazards of ridicule and sniping from the ignorant, the captious, and the professional anti-anti-Communists. Many of the latter occupy positions of considerable influence in our political, religious, educational, and mass communications media and other areas moulding public opinion.

From the above the necessity for a manual and study course such as this would seem to be more than amply demonstrated. My lecture tours during the past few years to all parts of this country have confirmed over and over again the great demand on the part of patriotic and deeply concerned Americans for an up-to-date and authoritative handbook for action which can be applied at local level.

There is no subject under the sun about which more nonsense, total misconception, deliberately planned confusion, or heavily obscurantist philosophizing has been done than Communism. The nature, purpose, and final objectives of world Communism are still the subject of endless and often bitter debate by the non-Communist world — forty four years after the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia and their open operations for all the world to see.

It is the sincere prayer and hope of the Church League of America that this manual prepared by experts will serve as a powerful beacon to dispel once and for all the myths, fallacies, ignorance, misunderstanding, and camouflage which have so baffled, confused, frustrated, and divided the West.

Edgar C. Bundy
General Chairman
Church League of America



INTRODUCTION

Since the end of World War II, more than 900,000,000 people have been taken behind the "Iron Curtain" by the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. has conquered more people and has seized more territory than Adolph Hitler conquered in all of his years of active military campaigns on the continent of Europe and in North Africa.

The remarkable part about this accomplishment is that the Soviet Union has done it without committing one single Russian military division to battle.

The gains of World Communism have been made by means of a new conception of warfare — that of deceit, subterfuge, lies and internal subversion.

Few individuals, in what remains of the Free World, are able to recognize the enemy even when he is working in their midst. He appears in various forms and clever disguises. He uses the same words they use but with different meanings.

For too long a time the free citizen has had the idea that the Communist is some wild-looking character with long red hair and beard, ragged clothing, and a bomb in one hand, a pistol in the other, standing on a soap box on a street corner; jumping up and down, and shouting: "Comes the Revolution!"

Such a picture is far from the truth! This was the typical caricature of the old Bolshevik in the 1920's, or shortly after the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Many people still have the misconception that World Communism is led by ignorance and poverty-stricken persons. That idea is also quite false.

The leaders of Communism are individuals of high intelligence, very clever, and they are supported with a great deal of money earned under a capitalistic or free enterprise system. Many of them are in the "intellectual class."

They have an extreme sense of dedication to a cause — the cause of overthrowing the present society and replacing it with one in which they will be the planners and the controllers. They have a lust for power and position.

The peoples of the Free World will never be able to combat the Red menace until they learn to recognize it and to understand its strategy and tactics.

One hundred and forty-three years ago there was born in Germany one who became a rebel from his youth. He rebelled against parental authority. While his mother worked and slaved at washing clothes in order to help pay for young Karl Mordecai's education (familiarily known to us today as Karl Marx) he would not soil his hands to earn a livelihood. He often referred to his mother as a dog.

Although there had been Jewish rabbis in his ancestry for 400 years, young Karl would not accept the Judaism of his forefathers nor the Christianity to which his own parents had been converted.

In the institutions of higher learning in Germany there were two particular individuals who moulded his thinking.

One was a radical self-styled theologian named Dr. Feurbach who denied the supernatural and divine, and who attempted to explain away all of sacred history through rationalism, humanism, and materialistic interpretations.

Fuerbach's thesis was that if you could not understand or explain things in the Bible from the humanistic viewpoint, then such things must be disregarded and not believed.

He originated what we refer to as the materialistic interpretation of history. In other words, if faith were required in order to believe something, then such belief must be disregarded, or thrown out the intellectual window!

The second man who had great influence on the life and thought of young student Marx was the leading German philosopher of that day, Hegel.

Hegel had an involved theory of dialectics which supposed that there were two forces struggling against one another in the world. One force would one day succeed in overthrowing the second force, and then a third force or condition would be brought into being. This was his "struggle theory."

Karl Marx put the materialistic interpretation of history (Feurbach's theory) together with the dialectic (struggle theory) of Dr. Hegel and produced his concept of dialectical materialism, or Marxian Socialism. He called it "Scientific Socialism."

Marx believed that a great struggle was taking place in the world. He stated that the masses of the people were struggling for a more abundant life. What kind of abundant life? Spiritual? No! Material!

Marx said that only greed stood between the masses and the realization of the abundant life. Greed was represented by the ownership class — the holders of private property and production — the capitalists. He said that the Capitalist Class must be eliminated and their holdings distributed equally among the people before the perfect world society could be realized. The state, representing the people, would be an instrument in accomplishing this, and then the state itself would be eliminated, and the masses would be supreme — no one ruling over anyone else. All would be equal. All would have all things in common. Greed would be eliminated forever. Paradise would be restored on earth. Utopia would have arrived on the human scene.

This was the so-called intellectualism of Marx — prophet of falsehoods — son of the Father of lies — Satan, who was to plunge the entire world into fear and chaos in a little more than 100 years!

God was to be left out of this Utopian dream. "Religion," said Marx, "is the tool of the Capitalists, an anesthetic to lull the masses to sleep so that the Capitalists can exploit them."

Materialism, humanism and rationalism were to replace God's plan of Redemption for the human race. The Bible was to be scrapped and all religious doctrine eliminated.

If anyone today wonders why so many student groups and intellectual leaders are found furthering the Communist Conspiracy then take a look at the sources of Marx's theories, and also see that he was a student with a twisted brain who produced the Communist Manifesto, the bible of World Communism, when he was only 30 years of age in 1848.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the United States of America, says that Communism, in simple terms, can be defined as "a revolt against duly constituted law and order." It is rebellion of the human heart against the divine order of things. It is basically the setting of man's will over against the will and law of Almighty God. It is the replacement of orderliness with chaos, confusion and misery by those who have a lust for power.

Mr. Hoover, in a recent report for 1960, entitled "Communist Target — Youth," warned the young people of the world to be aware of the designs of the Communists to penetrate their groups and to use them as an explosive force for World Communism. He cited recent events in Japan, Uruguay, Cuba and San Francisco, U.S.A. as examples of how the Reds could exploit young people.

One of the primary things we must understand is that the Communist Conspiracy is not a political movement; and, if we try to treat it as such, then we will fail to stop it.

The U. S. Supreme Court and many Federal Government bodies have unanimously ruled that the Communist Party is not a political party such as the Republican or Democratic parties. It is a conspiracy to subvert genuine parties and governments. The Communist Party is not permitted on the voters' ballots in the U.S.A.

What is the Communist movement, actually? It is a disease. It is a materialistic religion. It effects the mind. It is a Satanic substitute for Christianity and the Gospel.

Turn to its instruction book — the Manifesto — and to the writings of its fanatics from Marx, Engles, and Stalin, to the present day. You will find its plan for overthrowing all free societies. You will find the definite instructions to all its missionaries.

Communism is the fulfillment of the doctrines of Marx and Lenin, as advocated today by the leaders of the Soviet Union and their puppets throughout the world.

Communists believe that they have not yet reached the goal of true Communism, but that what exists in the U.S.S.R., in the Eastern Satellite states of Europe and in the Far East, is Socialism. Socialism, they believe, is an imperfect society, which is an improvement on Capitalism, but which falls short of the perfection of Communism. The objective of all Communists is the Communist society, in which all will think and act as Communists do. When this state arrives, then the world will have "peace" and government itself will wither away. Until

this is achieved, however, the leaders of Communism must be the dictators and tell others what to do. So say the Red bosses.

The Communist leaders say that the transition from the imperfect society of Socialism to the perfect society of Communism cannot take place until the Free World (the United States and its allies) is defeated. The overthrow of Capitalism, then, is the prerequisite for the establishment of Communism. The Communist must use any device to accomplish this end. Infiltration of every major phase of a free society must take place: government, labor, communications, entertainment, art, literature, education and even religious institutions.

Disguises must be used in this infiltration process. While using the term "peace," or "peaceful co-existence," the Communist must understand that these are only terms of convenience to lull the unsuspecting and trusting citizens of the Free World into a false state of security.

Such devices as "cultural exchanges" and "summit conferences," "trade pacts" and "agricultural talks" must be used by the Reds to soften the free nations.

Once their agents have infiltrated every sphere of a free society, then they will condition or brainwash the people into believing that Communism is a good thing and the only solution to the world's chronic ills such as hunger, greed, wars, misunderstandings, and even sickness!

You see, Communists teach that even sickness and disease are products of this "terrible" thing called "Capitalism," and that when the perfect Communist society finally appears, all infirmities will be prohibited!

The Communists are few in number compared to the total population of the world, but they are dedicated fanatics. Of great importance is the fact that they seek opinion-molding positions in all spheres of society. As Mr. Hoover has often stated: it is not a case of how many Communists there are, but rather where are they located.

The Communists have already successfully penetrated every major phase of free societies and are recruiting thousands of sympathizers and just plain dupes who never join the Communist Party, but who carry out the Communist objectives far more effectively than do the Communist Party members themselves.

On March 26, 1947, F.B.I. director J. Edgar Hoover testified before the major investigating committee of the U. S. Congress, the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives.

He testified as follows:

"The numerical strength of the party's enrolled membership is insignificant. But it is well known that there are many actual members who because of their position are not carried on party rolls.

"What is important is the claim of the Communists themselves that for every party member there are ten others ready, willing and able to do the party's work. Herein lies the greatest menace of Communism. For these are the people who infiltrate and corrupt various spheres of American life. So rather than the size of the Communist Party the way to weigh its true importance is by testing its influence, its ability to infiltrate.

"The size of the party is relatively unimportant because of the enthusiasm and iron-clad discipline under which they operate. In this connection, it might be of interest

to observe that in 1917 when the Communists overthrew the Russian Government there was one Communist for every 2,277 persons in Russia. In the United States today there is one Communist for every 1,814 persons in the country.

"One who accepts the aims, principles, and program of the party, who attends meetings, who reads the party press and literature, who pays dues and who is active on behalf of the party 'shall be considered a member.' The open avowed Communist who carries a card and pays dues is no different from a security standpoint than the person who does the party's work but pays no dues, carries no card, and is not on the party rolls. In fact, the latter is a greater menace because of his opportunity to work in stealth.

"You who have been members of this Committee also know the fury with which the party, its sympathizers and fellow travellers can launch an assault. I do not mind such attacks. What has been disillusioning is the manner in which they have been able to enlist support often from apparently well-meaning but thoroughly duped persons.

"Anyone who opposes the . . . Communist is at once branded as a 'disrupter,' a 'Fascist,' a 'Red baiter,' or a 'Hitlerite,' and becomes the object of a systematic campaign of character assassination. This is easily understood because the basic tactics of the Communist Party are deceit and trickery.

"The burden of proof should be placed upon those who consistently follow the ever-changing, twisting party line. Fellow travellers and sympathizers can deny party membership but they can never escape the undeniable fact that they have played into the Communist hands, thus furthering the Communist cause by playing the role of innocent, gullible, or willful allies." (End of quotation from Mr. Hoover.)

The United States has a Christian civilization. Communism is the sworn enemy of this nation. That is why the Communists, their sympathizers, and dupes carry on an incessant campaign to smear, to distort the truth, and to call their opponents names similar to the ones mentioned by Mr. Hoover, such as 'fascist.'

Christianity is the strongest force in the Free World to turn back the Red Tide and prevent the destruction of the bodies and souls of men.

Our nation has the truth on its side. We must declare it boldly no matter what our enemies try to do to suppress it. We must educate our people to be able to recognize the Red enemy when he appears in our midst, and to expose him and oppose him with the truth which comes from God.

Our Lord Jesus Christ said: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

He then declared: "I am the Way, the Truth and the life. No man cometh to the Father but by me."

The Communists have no god but Materialism. Their false prophet is a dead Marx. Their evil spirit is Satan.

We have a great God and Heavenly Father. On our side with Him is His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, and our teacher of all truth, the Holy Spirit.

We are engaged in a spiritual warfare for the souls of men. The Holy Trinity versus the unholy three.

Volunteers are needed to join in this spiritual warfare against the greatest enemy of mankind. Our weapons are powerful but they must be used. Let us instruct free people everywhere how to use them.

Totalitarianism thrives on keeping the people in the dark as to what is happening. Freedom and Liberty thrive on bringing all things unto the light.
A free people is an enlightened people.

CHAPTER I

THE ENEMY WE FACE

In every field of study, the humanities as well as scientific, there are certain postulates which must be understood and accepted before further study is possible. Whether it be astronomy or agriculture, chemistry or philosophy, or mathematics or zoology, one must thoroughly accept and grasp certain basic principles and laws before any true understanding and further study is possible. This postulate is also true in any attempt to understand Communism and Communists.

Despite the thousands of volumes written on the subject and the millions of words spoken against Communism, paradoxical as it may seem, the whole subject is still largely enshrouded, and hence well protected, by almost universal misunderstanding. One reason is that since the earliest days of Leninism at the turn of the century, the Communists made duplicity and deception cardinal elements in their tactical operations against the free world, or what they contemptuously call the "bourgeois mentality."

Boris Souvarine, a disillusioned and fallen away Bolshevik who participated in the founding of the Communist International, together with Lenin, Zinoviev and Bukharin, relates the following anecdote as having occurred in Moscow shortly after the world organization to smash and destroy the free world had been set up in 1919:

A pro-Bolshevik western newspaperman told a top Comintern figure that the "lying bourgeois press" was issuing all sorts of canards and slanders against the infant Bolshevik state. Why did not they do something to refute and expose these lies? The Comintern man laughed uproariously and told the western newsman, "Fine!, wonderful!, let them keep it up!" Thoroughly bewildered the pro-Soviet newsman argued in protest that this was hurting the new Soviet state and that it was important that lying propaganda against the U.S.S.R. should be exposed and denounced.

The cynical Comintern official then explained that this was just what the Bolsheviks wanted. "The more they lie about us, the more they exaggerate the terror, the less the western world will understand what we are and what we plan to do. Confusion and misunderstanding on the part of the bourgeois world about us is the best possible protection we can have." Ignorance about an enemy's effective forces, tactical dispositions, and methods of waging war obviously mean that no successful offensive can be mounted against him.

Communists are usually described as "atheists, Marxists, materialists, and dedicated fanatical revolutionaries." Yet there are atheists who are not Communists or even Marxists. There are Marxists who are not Communists and want no part of Communism. There are materialists and anti-religious secularists who hate and detest Communism. The world has also seen many varieties of revolutionaries who definitely were neither Marxist nor Communist. The Communist is a new human type not before encountered in history. It was no idle boast when Stalin, in 1924, five days after Lenin's death, told a congress of the Soviets:

"We Communists are people of a special mould. We are made of special material. We are those who comprise the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honor of belonging to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party founded and led by Lenin."

What is this mould and what is the material which sets Communists off from the rest of mankind? Authorities on Communist behavioral patterns generally agree that it is almost impossible to convey to the western or "bourgeois" mind just what Communist mentality and attitudes mean.

Only the cadre or hard core Communist who has himself been processed through years of Communist moulding and then defected can fully and correctly describe just what it meant by the term "a Communist man." Lower echelon Communists and others, who had some casual contact with the party, do not as a rule know anymore about the conditioning of the cadres than an outsider.

Fortunately, we now do have a few dependable accounts by former cadres in the form of books. A list of these for further study is appended at the end of this chapter. Even these first hand and sincere accounts, however, seldom are able to get over to the general reader the terrible implications of this new type of human being "cast in a special mould and made out of special material."

In a speech made in Los Angeles in 1949 before a conference of State Legislative committees investigating Communism, Karl Baarslag, a noted authority on Communism, had this to say:

"A Communist is self-contained and lives in a complete world of his own. He may be dependent on us for his physical needs and superficially appear to be one of us, but actually he lives in a separate world of Marxist-Leninist class struggle for total and absolute power. As a 'class conscious' and 'developed' Communist he trusts no one but his own leaders. He reads and believes nothing outside of his own trusted party publications.

"A seasoned disciplined Communist can neither be persuaded, shamed, mollified, or induced in anyway to depart from the straight and narrow of the 'party line.' Or from conducting himself at all times as a Bolshevik. A thoroughly disciplined soldier in the 'army of Lenin,' he cannot be intimidated, swindled, tricked or diverted from what he believes to be the path of rectitude and duty.

"He is completely devoid of all religious or moral inhibitions and is therefore totally immune to the restrictions of law, morality, decency, or even what the non-Communist world calls 'conscience.' True Bolshevik morality as defined by Lenin is that the sublimely noble ends of the revolution justify any and all means necessary to achieve it. What advances the world revolution is good and therefore moral. All that which hinders or delays the world revolution is of necessity evil and therefore must be fought and overcome.

"The glorious world revolution for the emancipation of all mankind from the evils of capitalism, religion, war, racial hatreds, poverty, crime, wage slavery, etc., cannot be achieved without POWER — total and absolute power over mankind as well as property.

"A sincere and dedicated Communist therefore must unswervingly devote his entire life to a single goal — the world revolution and the complete transformation of all of mankind into a new and higher type of man — the Communist man."

In the fall of 1935 the Communist Party printed and placed on sale for a brief period a small paperbound "Manual on Organization" by J. Peters. It was quickly withdrawn from sale and in later years became a collector's item. A reading of the 124 page pamphlet explained why — it gave the non-Communist world just a bit more than a quick glimpse into inner Communist Party life and operating tactics. Consider the following:

"How Shall We Safeguard The Party Organization Against Stool-Pigeons and Spies?

"One of the most effective weapons in the hands of the enemy is the agent-provocateur, the stool-pigeon, the spy in the ranks of the working class, and especially in the ranks of the vanguard of the proletariat — the Communist Party."

The various activities of "human rats" who criticize, oppose or otherwise thwart the Communist Party are then listed by Peters. "Stool pigeons" who infiltrate the party whether they are planted by patriotic organizations, the F.B.I., police, or Trotskyites must be hunted down and mercilessly exposed:

"There is only one proper method for exposing stool pigeons — and that is **mass exposure**, creating and organizing **mass** hatred against these rats. . . .

"The following methods have been used effectively in many places and can serve as a model for exposing spies:

1. Photograph the spy, and print his picture in the **Daily Worker** and in leaflets and stickers. Spread this material in the place where the spy was operating.
2. Organize systematic agitation among the workers where the spy was operating.
3. Mobilize the children and women in the block in the part of town where the stool pigeon lives to make his life miserable; let them picket the store where his wife purchases groceries and other necessities; let the children in the street shout after him or after any member of his family that they are spies, rats, stool pigeons.
4. Chalk his home with the slogan: 'So-and-So who lives here is a spy.' Let the children boycott his children or child; organize children not to talk to his children, etc.

"Such forms of agitation will gather around the issue hundreds of workers who were outside of the influence of the Party before, and who will now come with us on some action. At the same time we will expose and get rid of the spy, not through individual action, **but through real mass mobilization.**" (Emphasis in the original.)

George Hewett (C. P. name Timothy Holmes) a Negro who had joined the Communist Party in the early '20's, only to defect after having been trained in Moscow, was literally hounded to his early death by the use of such tactics against his defenseless family. Filthy epithets were painted on his apartment door, dead rats and garbage were heaped in front of his door. His children were hounded in the streets.

This same highly revealing Communist document also defined the model Communist as follows:

"Comrade Lenin in his writings always stressed the necessity of developing a core of comrades from among the best, tested mass leaders, to such a point that they would be able to serve the proletariat as trained, skilled revolutionary leaders. There is a misconception in the ranks of the Party as to what a professional revolutionist, in the Leninist sense, is. Some are of the opinion that a professional revolutionist is a comrade whom the Party takes out of the factory and assigns as full-time functionary; in other words, that the Party organization (Section—District—Center) supports him while he spends all his time on Party work. This notion is wrong.

"A professional revolutionist is a highly developed comrade, trained in revolutionary theory and practice, tested in struggles, who gives his whole life to the fight for the interests of his own class. A professional revolutionist is ready to go wherever and whenever the Party sends him. Today he may be working in a mine, organizing the Party, the trade unions, leading struggles; tomorrow if the Party so decides, he may be in a steel mill; the day after tomorrow, he may be a leader and organizer of the unemployed. Naturally these professional revolutionists are supported by the Party organization if their assignment doesn't send them to work in shops or mines. From these comrades the Party demands everything.

"They accept Party assignments — the matter of family associations and other personal problems are considered, but are not decisive. If the class struggle demands it, he will leave his family for months; even for years. The professional revolutionist cannot be demoralized; he is steeled, stable. Nothing can shake him. Our task is to make every Party member a professional revolutionist in this sense." (Page 112-3 **Manual on Organization**.)

F.B.I. Director Hoover in his book, "Masters of Deceit," and Frank S. Meyer in "The Moulding of Communists," cite case histories of disciplined Communists breaking up their marriages under party orders. A Communist in the underground did not emerge even briefly to visit his child stricken with polio. Another underground Communist, a woman, stuck to her subterranean work even after she learned her father was dying. She did not go to the funeral as she feared the F.B.I. might pick up her trail if she did.

Such inhuman, fanatical devotion to a cause and to an organization is well nigh inconceivable to the average non-Communist. It makes it difficult, if not impossible, for most people to grasp or even imperfectly to understand the nature of the enemy openly, one which is implacably bent upon their destruction and all that they hold dear. From this it must follow that it is equally difficult, if not impossible, to devise counter measures and an effective strategy against such an enemy. The first law of military science since the dawn of civilization has been "Know Your Enemy."

Therefore, the first and most important lesson in this course is to know the nature of the enemy — what makes him what he is and why he conducts his warfare against you as he does.

Lesson No. One. Communism is **not** what Communists try to make you believe it is. Communism is **not** what misguided liberals, one-worlders, internationalists, or uninformed people believe it to be or try to convince you it is. Communism is **not** what many lower echelon, relatively unimportant Com-

munists, themselves, may believe it to be after reading a few pamphlets or attending a few meetings. The high turnover rate in Communist membership represents the disillusioned and those who belatedly wake up to the real nature of the Communist conspiracy and what it does to the human soul.

Definition. Communism is what its own history throughout forty-three years and its own documents have irrefutably proven it to be. No more; no less. In other words, study the history of Communism — not Marxist-Leninist dialectics — as well as those basic documents generally available in most large city libraries or through reputable anti-Communist organizations which specialize in analyzing and interpreting such documents for their true intent and meaning.

Recommended Reading

How To Be A Good Communist	Liu Shao-chi, 1952, New Century Publishers
Communist Indoctrination	Maj. Mayer, National Education Program, Searcy, Ark.
The Moulding of Communists	Meyer, Harcourt Brace, 1961
The God That Failed	Crossman, Harper, 1949
Where We Came Out	Hicks, Viking, 1954
An Inquiry Into Soviet Mentality	Niemeyer and Reshetar Praeger, 1956
Men Without Faces	Budenz, Harper, 1950
Witness	Chambers, Random House, 1952
Child of the Revolution	Leonhard, Regnery, 1959
I Confess	Gitlow, Dutton, 1940
I Believed	Hyde, Putnams
Out of the Night	Valtin, Alliance, 1940
Darkness at Noon	Koestler, several publishers including paperbacks, 1940

Lesson No. One

1. What is a Communist and in what manner does the Communist man differ from the rest of mankind?
2. What is a Communist cadre? What distinguishes the cadre Communist from ordinary party members?
3. What gives Communists their enormous self-confidence and attitude of invincible righteousness?
4. Which of the books you studied gave you the clearest and best idea of the nature of the Communist cadre?
5. Can one become a cadre Communist and still believe in the principles of Christianity? Or any other religion?
6. Do you feel confident that you can now explain and get over to others the nature of what makes a Communist man?
7. In the literature of disillusioned and fallen away Communists, what seems to be one of the main reasons for breaking away?
8. What is the Communist Party attitude towards such defectors?

CHAPTER II

THE THREAT WE FACE

The Sino-Soviet Communist bloc today confronts a rapidly shrinking Free World with a variety of threats. These range from ideological infiltration to direct military action aimed at total subjugation. Ideological infiltration does not necessarily imply trying to "sell Communism" as a superior social-economic-political system. Communists have neither the time nor the interest to peddle their wares in the so-called "open market place of ideas." This is one of the great fallacies contributing so much to the befuddlement and confusion among non-Communists. This fallacy will be discussed in a later chapter under that subject.

The main purpose of Communist ideological infiltration is the fragmentation of a nation's unity and will to oppose or resist Communism. The ages-old maxim "In Union There is Strength" is reversed by the Communists to read: "We can achieve power only through the division and demoralization of the democratic-bourgeois forces opposed to us." In brief, the old Roman maxim, "Divide and Conquer." But modern totalitarianism has added something new. Morale disintegration is regarded as an absolute prelude to any successful fragmentation of national unity and will.

In 1920, a British tank expert, General J. F. C. Fuller wrote a book which few Americans ever read — "Tanks in the Great War." Forty years ago General Fuller predicted:

"That we have attained the final step on the evolutionary ladder of war is most unlikely. For mechanical and chemical weapons may disappear and be replaced by others more terrible. This method of imposing the will of one man on another may in turn be replaced by purely psychological warfare wherein weapons are not even used or battlefields sought or loss of life and limb aimed at. But in its place the corruption of human reason, the dimming of the human intellect and the disintegration of the moral and spiritual life of one nation by the influence of the will of another is accomplished.

Twelve years later in 1932 a pre-Hitler military psychologist in Germany named Ewald Banse in another long forgotten book used a little more direct language than General Fuller. Banse wrote:

"Perhaps the most important point of all, it is essential to attack the enemy nation in its weak spot (and what nation has not its weak spots?) to undermine, crush, break down its resistance, and convince it that it is being deceived, misled and brought to destruction by its own government, in order that it may lose confidence in the justice of its cause and thus the opposition at home (and what nation is without one?) may

raise its head and make trouble more successfully than before. The original well-knit, solid, powerful fabric of the enemy nation must be gradually disintegrated, broken down, rotted, so that it falls to pieces like a fungus when one treads upon it in a forest."

One does not have to be much of a student of Communism in action in this country to see ample evidence that such efforts to "break down, rot, and disintegrate" our national morale and will to resist Communism is already well advanced.

It is also becoming increasingly and painfully plain to our military and political leaders that General Fuller's warning in 1920, that weapons may not even be used or battlefields sought in the new forms of warfare to come in the future, was remarkably clairvoyant. The "dimming of the human intellect and the disintegration of the moral and spiritual life" is also undeniably well advanced in these United States. The contribution of the subversive academician and the traitor in the pulpit to this disintegration will be further discussed in separate chapters.

Von Clausewitz, the famous German military theorist in 1827 laid down the often quoted maxim, "War is merely diplomacy carried on by other means." Lenin, the founder of modern Communism and its fountainhead of all doctrine, reversed von Clausewitz by demonstrating that "War may now be successfully waged and an enemy destroyed without use of military weapons," without actually putting it into so many words.

We now call this new form of warfare, **Cold War**. But Fourth Dimensional war, unconventional war, or Mao-Tze-tung's "protracted conflict" are perhaps more correct and more descriptive. The main purpose of this manual is to enable those who use it to comprehend fully the nature of the threat we face.

Fourth Dimensional Warfare

The classical spheres of warfare since earliest times have been on land and later on the sea. With the birth of the airplane, war entered a third dimension during World War I. Psycho-social warfare as an adjunct to military operations is as old as armed conflict. The Bible, Sun Tzu's "Book of War" (500 B.C.) and ancient Indian and Egyptian writings contain numerous references to artifices and tricks used to demoralize and frighten an enemy into passivity or surrender. Hannibal's use of war elephants against the Romans and Cortez' use of partly armoured horses against masses of fierce fighting Aztecs come readily to mind. The Manchus used terror to subjugate China although they faced odds estimated at 400 to one.

However, it was not until 1948, when Czechoslovakia fell into the Soviet orbit, that an entire nation was captured from within without a single soldier firing as much as a single bullet. A badly frightened world realized that warfare had now entered into a new dimension. The dire warnings of British General Fuller 28 years earlier had come true. Military means of waging war on land, sea, and in the air did not, of course, become obsolete overnight. Communist successes with psycho-political forms of warfare meant that military strategists and statesmen now had to contend with war in a fourth dimension. A large

measure of our long list of defeats and reverses, vis-a-vis the Communists, since the end of World War II can be attributed to the inability of western leadership to grasp and cope with this new problem.

Experts estimate that we suffer from a thirty to forty year time lag behind the Communists in political warfare. Unless this gap is speedily closed the gloomy foreboding of Prof. Burnham, cited in the Introduction, may become a reality within our lifetime.

The Policy of Containment

The best answer thus far which the West has been able to devise against Communism has been a dual one of so-called containment and "drying up Communism's breeding spots." The policy of containment is generally associated with the political theorizing of George F. Kennan, a former Foreign Service officer and ambassador, who served for some time in Russia and is fluent in that language.

An official State Department book, Post War Foreign Policy Planning, reveals that this country had absolutely no established policy with respect to the U.S.S.R. and world Communism up to 1947. By that time the Soviets had made it crystal clear by their ruthless Communization of all Eastern Europe, in violation of the Yalta and other agreements, that President Roosevelt's "Grand Design" of winning over and domesticating the Russian Bear had been one of history's most disastrous delusions.

Soviet atomic espionage in this country all during the war, while the United States saved the U.S.S.R. from total annihilation at the hands of the Nazis, through eleven billion dollars worth of munitions and supplies, was finally disclosed in part. Soviet-financed subversion all over the world and the drive of the Chinese Communists to overthrow the Nationalist government, a staunch ally of the United States in the long, costly war against Japan, left little doubt in anyone's mind that the declaration of total war against the Free World first declared in Moscow in 1919 by the Communist International was still in full effect. The dire situation in which the U.S.S.R. found itself as a result of Hitler's June, 1941, invasion compelled a temporary cease-fire in this cold war against the West as far as overt activities were concerned. Full scale and highly efficient espionage, as we learned later, was never stopped or even reduced.

A favorite trick of the crypto-Communists and pseudo-liberals is to date the Cold War from 1947 and imply that President Truman's cutting off of war-time supplies to the U.S.S.R. was actually the reason for Soviet unfriendliness and "suspicion" toward this country. This is a fairy tale which every intelligent American should do his best to expose and destroy.

The Soviet Declaration of War

The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky began their seizure of power November 7, 1917. Fifteen months later while still involved in civil war on many fronts and with the country in almost total economic and social chaos the First Congress of the Communist International met in Moscow. Lenin announced:

"In a number of countries Soviet power has already been victorious. It will not be long before we see the victory of Communism throughout the world, the foundation of the World Federal Republic of Soviets. . . .

"Let the bourgeoisie of the whole world continue to rage, let it expel, put in prison, even murder Spartacists and Bolsheviks, all this will no longer help it. This will only serve to enlighten the masses, to liberate them from the old bourgeois democratic prejudices and to train them in the struggle. The victory of the proletarian revolution throughout the world is guaranteed. The formation of the International Soviet Republic is approaching." (Stormy applause.)

A "Manifesto to the Proletarians of the World" was drawn up at the conclusion of the Congress. Its language and tone left no doubt as to what the Communist International proposed to do:

"It is our object to summarize the revolutionary experience of the working classes, to purge the movement from the decomposing admixtures of opportunism and 'social-patriotism' (meaning Socialists who defended their own countries, ed.), to unite the efforts of all truly revolutionary parties of the world's proletariat, thus facilitating and hastening the victory of the communistic revolution throughout the world."

The United States was then identified as having taken over Great Britain's role of dominating Europe and hence was the chief enemy of and stumbling block to world Communism. The 1919 manifesto ended with these words:

"Bourgeois order has been sufficiently castigated by socialist critics. The object of the international communist party is to overthrow that organization and to replace it with a socialist state. We call upon working men and women of all countries to rally around the communist banner already floating over many a victorious battlefield.

"Proletarians of all countries! Rally for the struggle against imperialistic barbarism, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against national oppression and the tyranny of classes in any shape or form!"

This declaration of war on the whole Free World by the International Communist conspiracy was never rescinded or modified. It was re-affirmed by every subsequent World Congress of the Communist International. It was dramatically high-lighted in recent times by Khrushchev's boast that Communism would "bury" us and that our grandchildren would live under "socialism" (a Communist euphemism for their system.) There is available in any library a mass of documentation on the Communist determination to take over the entire world. Anyone who still doubts or questions this fact is obviously beyond hope of enlightenment.

The overthrow of the bourgeois state and its replacement with a socialist state has recently been announced by Fidel Castro in Cuba — ninety miles from Florida.

The Futility of Containment

In July, 1947, **Foreign Affairs**, a publication read in the State Department as authoritative, carried an article "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." The

author was listed merely as Mr. "X". The author's identity was never a secret — "X" was George F. Kennan. The substance of this article, and a second supplementary one by the same author, was that the Soviet power was here to stay and that we would find the Communists very hard to deal with. Any positive counteraction would merely serve as an irritant and excuse for greater violence and aggression. America's safety, therefore, was said to lie in a policy of "long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." Note carefully that Kennan used the word "Russian" rather than Communist expansive tendencies.

The entire pernicious fallacy upon which Kennan based his disastrous policy of containment is fully and brilliantly exposed by James Burnham in his "Containment or Liberation" John Day, New York, 1952. It is absolute "must" reading for anyone seeking to understand why we are in the serious situation which we are in today, as well as those studying this course.

Particularly study Chapter 8 — the Primacy of Politics. This is unquestionably the best summation available in print on Communist successful employment of political warfare versus western befuddlement and bumbling. Burnham also brilliantly dissects and exposes the basic weakness and element of a fallacy in military thinking that "in the final showdown firepower will settle the issue." When Lenin landed in Russia in April, 1917, after an absence of ten years, it is doubtful that his Bolshevik party owned a hundred revolvers and perhaps some home-made bombs and dynamite. His followers numbered less than 35,000 in a country of one hundred and fifty million. Seven months later he was master of all Russia. The Czar had all the firepower of armed forces, police and the courts yet Lenin and his handful of conspirators, with no weapons to speak of, took over total power in a matter of months through the brilliant use of Fourth Dimensional warfare.

Burnham observes: "Lenin believed in the supremacy not of firepower (or of economics) but of politics and political will. He knew that firepower was also important but he aimed to appropriate his adversary's firepower and to use it for his own political purposes. This is what he did." Burnham then goes on to point out that all our superior firepower at the end of World War II, plus the sole monopoly of the atomic bomb for many years, proved utterly useless in staying the advance of Soviet political warfare all over the world.

Likewise, a New York newsman and a handful of quislings in the U. S. State Department, secretly aiding and building up Castro and his eighteen lightly armed bandits in the mountains of eastern Cuba, completely nullified the massed military might and firepower of the United States as far as the strategic island of Cuba was concerned.

There is no more dramatic and bitter lesson on the deadly importance of political warfare than that of Cuba, ninety miles from our shores. Read Nathaniel Weyl's "Red Star Over Cuba" for the complete and incredible story of how Fidel Castro, a student assassin and known Communist stooge since 1945, was built up by the N. Y. Times into a glamorous and romantic Robin Hood whose sole objective was to bring democracy, freedom and happiness to Cuba.

The second caisson of sand upon which our policy toward Soviet Russia and the world Communist movement is solidly based is the economic fallacy usually summed up in the words, "The only or best way to combat Communism and arrest its further advance is to dry up its breeding spots — poverty, ignorance, and economic backwardness." Despite the fact that this fallacy has been exploded and ridiculed by experts for years, and that even Socialist Norman Thomas has publicly rejected it, our entire foreign aid program and our whole foreign policy still rests upon this preposterous and erroneous premise. It will be fully treated in the chapter on "Fallacies About Communism."

The extraordinary success of the Communists in expanding from a minor sect of social revolutionaries, numbering not over 35,000 in Russia in 1917, to total and absolute dominion over one-third of mankind and a quarter of the earth's surface was largely achieved through political warfare. Not through political warfare alone, of course, but through a highly skilled blending and coordination between all forms of political warfare and military power where the latter was necessary.

This phenomenal success with an entirely new weapons system for the subjugation of an enemy should not, however, blind us to the rapidly rising industrial potential of the Soviet-Chinese Communist bloc nor to their already formidable military power and technological development.

Communist world power might be likened to a highly adroit heavyweight boxer who carries just as much punch in his left arm as he does in his right. The right arm being military-technological-industrial power and the left being psycho-political warfare potential of a clearly established deadly potency. The opponent who faces such a pugilist with only a good right arm, and a weak and flabby left arm is obviously in for trouble no matter what his past ring record may have been and how many good men he has knocked out in the past with his right.

Recommended Reading

(The first seven titles are prerequisite)

Containment or Liberation	Burnham, John Day, 1952
Protracted Conflict	Strausz-Hupe et al, Harper, 1959
The Edge of War	Atkinson, Regnery, 1961
Cold War and Liberation	O'Connor, Vantage, 1961
The Fifth Weapon	Byfield, Bookmailer, 1954
American Strategy for the Nuclear Age	Hahn & Neff, Anchor, New York, 1960
A Century of Conflict	Possony, Regnery, 1953
The Century of Total War	Aron, Beacon Press, 1955
Imperial Communism	Bouscaren, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1953
*Soviet Total War	House Comm. Un-American Activities, 1956, Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
America Faces World Communism	Bouscaren, Vantage

The Front Is Everywhere
The Soviet Design for a World State
Soviet Strategy in the Nuclear Age
Soviet Image of Future War

Psychological Warfare

A Psychological Warfare Casebook

Kintner, Univ. of Okla. Press, 1950
Goodman, Columbia Univ. Press, 1960
Garthoff, Praeger, 1958
Garthoff, Public Affairs Press, Wash-
ington, D. C., 1959
Linebarger, Combat Forces Press,
Washington, 1954
Daugherty & Janowitz, John Hopkins
Press, 1958

* Soviet Total War for sale at the Government Printing Office in Washington, D. C. for \$2.75. This is a two volume, 900 page symposium on all aspects of Soviet political warfare by some 116 of the nation's top-ranking experts. It is indispensable to any serious student of the whole Communist problem.

Lesson No. Two

1. What are some other synonyms for the "Cold War"?
2. What is generally meant or understood by a "policy of containment"? What is the fatal flaw in this theory?
3. From what time do you date the beginning of Soviet Russia's cold war against the West?
4. Cite at least two examples where Communist political warfare nullified and bested military firepower.
5. Read Weyl's "Red Star Over Cuba" and summarize just what brought Castro to power.
6. What is the difference between psychological and political warfare?
7. Select an essay from Soviet Total War which you feel helped you to a better understanding of the problem of Communism and explain the gist or substance of the article.
8. Thoroughly study at least one of the recommended titles in the reading list and write a 500 word summary-review of what it taught you.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNIST TACTICS AND OPERATING TECHNIQUES

While a great deal has been written and spoken about the menace of Communism, very little has appeared in print on Communist tactics and operational techniques. Even veteran anti-Communists will privately express chagrin and reluctant admiration for the high degree of success which Communists can achieve with apparently limited numbers and resources, or in pushing obviously hopeless and unpopular causes and projects with considerable degree of success.

The pat answer that Communists are past masters of organization is only partly correct. The explanation that Communists are highly disciplined, zealous fanatics who work night and day, seven days a week, and 365 days a year at their subversive work is also valid but not the full answer. The secret of Communist success is three fold — organization, zeal, and a bag full of highly versatile operating techniques. Totally divorced from the Free World's inhibiting factors of religion, ethics, morality, law, custom, and ordinary common decency, the Communists are able to employ or devise any tactic, trick or artifice which a given situation may require.

The following list of Communist tactics have all been used in this country during the past thirty years. Trades unionists, professional groups, and people working in peace movements, civil right movements and other altruistic projects have probably all had some experience with at least some of these Communist tactics. They are not, of course, infallible stigmata of secret Communists at work, as non-Communists either developed or copied some of them, too. But, their consistent use by "progressives" and "liberals" may be deemed strongly presumptive evidence of "Danger! Communists At Work."

"I Am Not a Communist, But . . ."

This is really one of the oldest and most shopworn devices used by concealed Communists. Sophisticated anti-Communists dub such people "Commibuts." The line usually goes, "I am not a Communist but I am sympathetic towards some of the good things they stand for." Or, "I certainly have no use for Communists but you have to admit that the fascist danger from the extreme right is just as dangerous as Communism is alleged to be." Or, "I am not a Communist but you must admit that they cannot be criticized when they defend Constitutional rights and civil liberties."

Communism is total evil and by its very nature beyond all hope of redemption or salvation as long as it persists in its heresy against all religious and moral law. Any worthy causes it may pretend to advance are therefore sheer fraud and deception.

Tell-Tale Terminology

As Communists attend the same Marxist study groups and read the same Communist line publications they tend unconsciously to lapse into a readily identifiable dialect or argot of their own. Space limits prohibit any extended glossary of typical Communist expressions. Many pet words of Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev have found their way into Communist terminology in this country by transliteration. For example the use of "shops" in place of factories or plants. "Concrete" used as an adjective and even "concretize" as a verb, "correct tactics," "sharpening the struggle," "broadening the mass base," "clarity," "daily struggles," "unity of the workers," "imperialist war-mongers," and "lifting to a higher plane" are all commonly used Communist clichés. See particularly Possony's "Language as a Weapon," published by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Amalgam

One of the most overworked and characteristic Communist semantic tricks is the "amalgam." It is really an illegitimate syllogism with reverse English and has no connection with either logic or reality. It goes something like this: Joe Doakes, an honest union member, charges that the Communists in his union have pulled off some raw swindle of union funds or compromised the union's good name in some outrageous front racket. His simple and honest charges are not answered but instead some concealed Communist, or party stooge, will undertake to reply by charging that while Brother Doakes is unquestionably a good union member the only people interested in splitting the unity of the workers and sowing dissension and suspicion are company spies, union wreckers, and "fascists." While he naturally does not intimate in any way whatever that Brother Doakes is a company spy or fascist still his regrettable charges "lay him open to suspicion . . . etc." Brother Doakes has been neatly "amalgamated" with hateful symbols to the overwhelming majority of the members and probably effectively squelched for a long time to come.

Or Mrs. Flossie Jones, a deeply religious and ardent pacifist gets up to oppose what she knows to be a Communist Party line directive in some peace or other humanitarian meeting. She is quickly and deftly amalgamated with "Trotskyite splitters," the Ku Klux Klan, "fascists" or atomic warmongers, whichever is deemed the most appropriate for the group and particular region. At the next meeting, if she has the temerity to come back, she will know better and keep quiet.

Conversely, Communists always amalgamate themselves with the noblest concepts of the human mind — Peace, democracy, civil liberties, human rights, disarmament, social justice, etc., etc. Watch out for people who unscrupulously and consistently use the amalgam to discredit or silence their opponents; fair chances are they may be concealed Communists.

The Smear

Many otherwise well-informed people believe that Communist character assassination and baseless slander are merely defensive weapons on par with those used by skunks and cuttlefish. Or, that Communists, being nasty customers, naturally use nasty methods. This is only partly true. The main purpose of the Communist smear is that of offensive psychological warfare. It is calculated to impress on the greatest number of people that Communists are vicious and dangerous fighters and that it is the better part of discretion to give them a wide berth and leave them alone.

The unfortunate human penchant to relay and amplify gossip and rumor also supplies valuable motive power to the Communist instigated smear. All too many people are prone to pass along as truth, unflattering stories and remarks about other people without bothering to check into the origin or purpose behind them. Laxity of our libel laws and the high legal costs of bringing suit contribute materially to making it cheap and easy for the Communists to employ this weapon.

"Stop Thief!"

Another standard operating tactic, highly developed by the comrades, is the ages-old trick of thieves and pickpockets yelling "Stop Thief!" to cover their own thievery. Incredible as it may seem, western diplomats and leaders still seem incapable of fathoming this hoary old thieves' trick and still virtuously and indignantly deny totally false charges made against them by the Communists.

This tactic is constantly employed by the very highest diplomatic circles of Soviet Russia and Red China down to the lowliest party hack or stooge in the smallest and most insignificant front organization. The "Stop Thief!" tactic is closely allied to and often part of the false accusation technique constantly used by all Communists all over the world.

It is astounding how many otherwise informed and sophisticated people still fall for the false accusation trick every day. Skilled prize-fighters always keep a threatening left jabbing close to an opponent's chin. A muttered obscenity will often infuriate a green fighter into losing his head and swinging in blind rage. Uninstructed victims of Communists fall into the same trap when outrageously false charges are made against them.

Honest men are naturally concerned with their good names and reputations and usually rush into angry denials and elaborate refutations when their character or good intentions are basely impugned. The victims of this hoary old Communist trick never seem to realize that Communist false accusations are not just senseless slanders intended to insult or embarrass an enemy. The false accusation tactic is an essential part of Communist psychological warfare intended to put and to keep an enemy on the defensive so that he cannot find either the time or interest to mount an offensive against the Communists.

The false accusation tactic is one of the favorite Communist "Heads I win; Tails you lose" tricks whereby they win either way. By charging their enemies with some action which they assert is likely to lead to war, "enslave peoples," support or foster fascism or reaction, or any other hateful allegation, the

Communists place themselves on record as vigilant guardians of peace, human rights, social justice, etc., etc., ad nauseam. If the accused, nevertheless, goes ahead with the action, whatever it may be, the Communists reap the credit of having called the turn and of having warned all "peace-loving, democratic people" long in advance.

If those falsely accused by the Communists refrain from carrying out the action, the Communists win again by proclaiming to the world that their vigilance "smashed the sinister war-plotting forces of reaction" or of "monopoly capital," or whatever bugaboo which they might have conjured up out of their hyper-active imaginations.

There is also another gain which the Communists reap from this tactic. Angry denials and refutations in themselves carry the seeds of suspicion in many peoples' minds. "Where there is so much smoke there must be some fire" is illogically used by those people who know nothing about Communist trickery and who are prone to link actual guilt with unproven accusation. As honest and fair-minded men will never levy a false charge against anyone, it seems logical to assume that there **must** be some basis for the charges made. Particularly so, where the Communist instigation of such false accusations is not readily discernible.

Millions of gullible and credulous people all around the world accepted the "proofs" of Soviet Russia's charges that the United States rained down plague infested insects on the hapless North Korean people. The fact that our government did not immediately demand an investigation of these lying charges by the International Red Cross also naturally tended to convince millions of foreigners that the germ-warfare charge was probably true. It also proved once more the ineptness, if not helplessness, of our government in dealing with Communist chicanery.

Shortly after the end of the Korean War and the Soviet campaign of "germ warfare" lies against the United States, President Eisenhower sent the Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force to Moscow to attend a conference there. Inasmuch as the United States had not demanded any retraction of or apology for these slanders against American fliers by the Soviets, much of the world assumed the charges probably were true. By sending General Twining to the very capital of world Communism, which had circulated the "germ warfare" slanders against his own Air Force, it enabled the Reds to demonstrate further that the United States was a country without much moral principle or national honor.

Or, as Khrushchev once so delicately phrased his contempt of the western bourgeoisie, "You spit in their faces and they smilingly wipe it away and reply 'The dew is very heavy today.'"

Watch your newspapers and other news sources for almost daily examples of Communist false accusation techniques. A sophisticated and trained anti-Communist naturally believes nothing emanating from Communist or suspected Communist sources. Rare, indeed, was the American during World War II who believed anything emanating from Japan or Nazi Germany. They were the enemy, we were locked in a life or death struggle with them and therefore anything they

said was suspect even if it were obviously true. In the cold war for survival against Communism we have never learned even this elementary lesson — “trust nothing coming from enemy sources.”

Faked Anger and Indignation

All Communists from Khrushchev down are consummate actors. Do not fall for Communist histrionics. They can turn on towering rages, outraged indignation, burning sincerity, suave mollification and sweet reasonableness with the ready facility of a water faucet. Again, it is astounding and unbelievable how otherwise smart people are completely bamboozled and impressed by some well-faked show of Communist anger or intransigent opposition. Khrushchev, on tour in the United States, gave a continuing show of this Communist fakery but very few Americans seem to have seen through his histrionics except former Communists and anti-Communist experts. Khrushchev had merely to frown at an awkward question and the whole State Department swooned and collapsed from the awful possibility that it had offended and hurt “an honored guest.” All Communists are cynical, deep-eyed scoundrels who can no more be insulted or offended than a lifetime criminal can be hurt by being called a “crook.”

All Communist displays of great anger and agitation over some issue which they want to stop in its tracks are nothing more than modern day Marxian derivatives of one of the human race's oldest psychological tricks — that is, frightening off potential enemies by fierce war-whoops, terrifying grimaces, blood-chilling gestures and other similar manifestations. Communists have been known to express amazement themselves over the easy success of some of their play-acting in scaring off the opposition or stopping some anti-Communist action.

Much of Kennan's discredited policy of containment is based on the delusion that any positive counter-Communist action or program is likely to “stir up the beasts and make them much worse than they already are.” This so-called expert's writings are full of warnings against angering or arousing the Communists lest they really get nastier than they already are. It has probably never occurred to this “great authority,” whose influence on our foreign policy has been so pernicious and disastrous, that Communists are already operating at top boiler pressure against us, and, hence, could not possibly do us anymore evil even if they so desired.

Communists are 100% cold-blooded practical realists. They never permit themselves to be maneuvered or provoked into any action against their better judgment. Nor on the other hand can they be dissuaded, diverted, or appeased from an action which the appropriate Communist unit or decision-making body has carefully explored and decided is ripe for consummation. Communists, as a matter of iron clad principle, **never** permit their freedom of political decision to be tampered with or influenced by outside forces.

The silliest of all delusions in dealing with Communists, whether at local level in a small American city or on a national basis with Russia or Red China, is that one must not offer them an excuse or provocation for taking a violent counter-action. Like all totalitarians, the Communists do not patiently wait for their enemies to create an incident before they start some particular line of action.

When the time is ripe and their forces mobilized to strike, Communists either manufacture a provocation or simply go ahead without one and justify their action later after it has been successfully accomplished.

Parliamentary Trickery

No one has ever kept a census of the organizations and movements in this country wrecked by Communist infiltration and skullduggery. Such a list would run into many thousands. When the bulk of an organization's membership learns or suspects that there are Communists at work in their midst they quietly drop out or stay away from meetings. However, such Communist activity is not always easy to spot or to prove.

A standard and well-known Communist tactic is to prolong meetings endlessly into the night so that most of the non-Communists will have gone home. Then, the small Communist "fraction" brings up its party-line resolutions and actions, counting on weariness and boredom by other members to ease them through without too much debate. This tactic is called "Wear down and win out."

"Wearing down the phonies" is another common parliamentary trick of the comrades. In a torture, attributed to the Chinese, the victim is slowly driven into insanity by drops of water at maddeningly long intervals falling on a shaved spot on his head. Highly skilled and infinitely patient Communists, usually concealed and unsuspected ones, practice the same diabolic tactic on non-Communist officials presiding at meetings. Hour after hour and meeting after meeting the victim is subjected to a steady barrage of sniping questions, comments, and objections.

These are never insulting or intemperate, as that would give the show away and arouse membership sympathy for the harrassed chairman or official. The line is always correct, suave, adroit and relevant to the issue before the house. The net general tendency, however, over a period of time, is to create in the minds of the membership that the official or officials are obviously not as alert and efficient as they might be. The questioners, who are all coached and rehearsed before each meeting, seem to be sincerely interested in the organization's well-being and progress.

Sooner or later the victim of the Chinese water drop torture tactic loses his patience and either intemperately denounces his tormentors as "Commies," which he naturally cannot prove, or he quietly resigns or refuses to run for office the next time in such an ungrateful and troublesome organization. This naturally opens the way for secret Communists or their stooges to step into the vacated place; and, another organization is on its way to disintegration or passing entirely under Communist control.

The Lever, of Improving On Archimedes

One of the least understood, and yet most highly successful of all Communist techniques, is that of "broadening the base" or applying the principle of Archimedes' lever to ideological diffusion and indirect manipulation of other forces. One of the most common fallacies about Communists is that their

numerically insignificant membership is also a reliable gauge of their influence and power. One might as well argue that the lifting power of a man was limited to what he could pick up with his two arms. What of the lever, the pulley, or the 25 ton crane operated by one man? Communists are power manipulators who handle levers and valves controlling machinery which enormously amplifies their own limited strength.

Influencing, involving, and finally manipulating large organizations and segments of the population, often far removed from the periphery of the party, is a Communist achievement which still compels the reluctant admiration of the anti-Communist observer and student. It is in the main part of their highly skilled organizing ability.

Unlike non-Communist organizations, the Communists are highly adept at pressuring sympathetic and fellow travelling organizations into joint or so-called "mass actions." These periphery and sympathetic organizations, embracing thousands of non-Communist members, in turn act as levers through unions, churches, and others far removed from Communist influence to swing literally hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of people into action on an issue which seems worthy and laudable to them but which was originally of interest and concern only to the Communists.

There are a number of other Communist tactics and operating techniques which space limitations prevent including in this study. They may be found in Karl Baarslag's "Communist Trade Union Trickery Exposed," Argus Publishing Company, Chicago, 1952, now regrettably out of print.

The question is often asked, "How does one detect a concealed Communist?" It is not easy and certainly should never be tried by amateurs. First, one must be thoroughly familiar with the current "party line." Secondly, the statements and political position of a suspected Communist must be kept track of over a period of time to establish close identification with the party line and its changes and zig-zags. Thirdly, depend on the judgment of trained and experienced anti-Communists, i.e., former F.B.I., naval or military intelligence officers, security specialists or others with comparable training.

NEVER CALL ANY PERSON A COMMUNIST EVEN IF YOU HAVE WHAT YOU MAY BELIEVE TO BE IRREFUTABLE PROOF. IT IS NOT ONLY GROSSLY UNFAIR TO AN INNOCENT PERSON BUT IS ALSO LEGALLY ACTIONABLE NOW IN MANY STATES TO MAKE SUCH AN UNSUPPORTABLE ALLEGATION.

One test which most Communists find exceedingly hard to pass is to name three or four things **wrong** with Russia and Communism and even one that is **right** with the United States as far as policy against the Soviets or Red China is concerned. A seasoned Communist finds it very hard ever to have a single good word for this country or a harsh or critical word for any Communist country, leader, or policy.

The average reader of this study course will in all probability never have contact with a real, concealed, disciplined Communist Party member. On the other hand, if he or she lives in a city or town of over twenty or thirty thousand,

or even in rural areas, it is more than likely that he will frequently chance across Communist sympathizers, dupes, or non-Communists temporarily and unwittingly carrying on some particular Communist line activity or propaganda line of the moment. (See separately appended "Sources of Information" for publications and other media where the current Communist Party line may be found.)

Recommended Reading

Communist Trade Union Trickery Exposed	Baarslag, Argus Publishing Co., 1952
Techniques of Communism	Budenz, Regnery, 1954
Handbook for Americans	Senate Internal Security Sub-Comm., 1956, G.P.O., Washington, D.C. 30¢
The Big Decision	Cvetic, P.O. Box 2789, Hollywood, Cal. \$1.00
The Organizational Weapon	Selznick, McGraw Hill, 1952
The Whole of Their Lives	Gitlow, Scribners
The Front Is Everywhere	Kintner, Univ. of Okla. Press, 1950
Tactics and Methods of Communism	Matthews, National Education Pro- gram, Searcy, Ark. 25¢

Lesson No. Three

1. What are the three main factors which account for much of the success of Communists despite their numerical inferiority and other disabilities?
2. What is the Communist tactic known as the "Amalgam?"
3. Cite a Communist false accusation which you personally know about or have read about recently.
4. What is the Communist parliamentary trick known as "Wear down and win out?"
5. How would you spot a suspected Communist?

CHAPTER IV

FALLACIES ABOUT COMMUNISM

No subject under the sun, at least in recent years, has had more written about it with less true understanding as a result, than Communism. This paradox is explained in part by the highly deceptive and conspirative techniques employed by the Communists to enshroud most of their operations in camouflage and mystification. Even so great a world figure as Winston Churchill in 1939 said that Soviet Russia was a "riddle, wrapped in mystery, inside an enigma." He was, of course, referring to Russia's Communist leadership and not the country.

Mrs. Frances Perkins in her book, "The Roosevelt I Knew," quotes the war-time president as expressing to her his baffled annoyance at being unable to fathom Stalin's mind. He is quoted as having said, "I can tell a good Englishman from a bad Englishman; I can tell a good Frenchman from a bad Frenchman. I can even tell a good Greek from a bad Greek, but the Russians (obviously their Communist leaders) puzzle me."

And the classic example of western mentality totally unable of grasping the nature of Communist thought processes was the famous discussion between Generals Eisenhower and Zhukov, which Eisenhower himself related at a press conference in July, 1957.

Ike found the Soviet marshal "a confirmed Communist" and "we had many long discussions about our respective doctrines." One of these was a three hour talk during which each tried to sell the other on the superiority of his own ideology. The former President admitted, "I had a very tough time trying to defend our position." Zhukov did not hesitate to tell Ike that Communism was the truly "idealistic" system because it selflessly was devoted to uplifting all of humanity, whereas bourgeois-democratic capitalism was essentially materialistic because it appealed to the basest and most selfish individualistic instincts in man. Ike admitted to the newsmen that he was not too successful in defending the Free World position and that he was "hard put to it" in his argument with the Communist marshal.

There is a veritable Grand Canyon of the Colorado gorge between Communist and western thinking. Practically all of our fiascos, failures, and defeats in attempting to deal with advancing world Communism stem from the basic and very elementary fact that while the Communists thoroughly understand (and incidentally despise) our way of thinking, we simply do not seem to be able to fathom Communist psychology and thought processes.

In a private conversation some years ago former U. S. ambassador to Russia and France, William Bullitt, who certainly understands Communists, observed:

“The great tragedy of the West is that its leaders — and they are all good, Christian patriotic men — simply are incapable of grasping or understanding the nature of the enemy bent upon their destruction.”

Mr. Bullitt then went on to point out that Communists are essentially super-criminals bound by no laws and restrained by no inhibitions and of such unlimited depravity, immorality and total cynicism that the average western or non-Communist and Christian simply refuses the evidence of his senses. He therefore rejects the true image of total and irremediable evil which is Communism and substitutes for it all manner of false and misleading misconceptions, or rationalizations.

In essence, the trained anti-Communist, in trying to depict just what makes a Communist, is faced with the same baffling problem that the city dweller had when his country cousin came to town to see the circus. Shown a giraffe, the country man, familiar all his life with cows and horses, snorted in derision, “There ain’t no sech animal!”

This almost total inability of the western mind to see the Communist giraffe, when he is actually looking at it, has naturally given rise to a number of fallacies about Communists. These fallacies in turn have been gravely accepted as scientific truth by many people who in turn, as teachers, clergymen, public speakers, and other opinion moulders, broadcast and disseminate them still further to millions of uncritical and uninformed Americans.

The “Belly” Argument

Fallacy No. 1: One of the oldest, hardest to kill, and most persistent fallacies about Communism is the so-called “belly” argument. This fallacy asserts with a great show of profound understanding and desire to arrest Communism that poverty, ignorance, social injustice, and economic retardation are “breeding spots” for this terrible scourge of mankind. One line usually goes “The only way to combat Communism is to strengthen and improve our democracy here at home.” Another twin version of the same fallacy is “The best way to fight Communism is to dry up its breeding spots.”

Our entire foreign policy for the past fifteen years with respect to foreign aid is based squarely on this demonstrably false premise. **Eighty billion** dollars poured out thus far abroad to “dry up Communism’s breeding spots” does not seem to have had any discernible effect on the advance of world Communism. Even a glance around the world and a cursory examination of history will quickly demolish this pernicious and transparent fallacy.

At the time of the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia in 1917, China, India and much of the Near East and North Africa suffered from the lowest living standards in the civilized and semi-civilized world. All of them were ideal “breeding spots for Communism” as far as abysmal poverty, degradation,

illiteracy, and general social hopelessness were concerned. China was conquered for Communism, as we now know, largely by treason and defeatism fostered by the intelligentsia and lower professional classes, and finally by military power.

A handful of U. S. State Department officials and writers on China, as Whittaker Chambers points out in "Witness," aided materially by withdrawing American aid to the Nationalist government at the critical time when it was needed most. The peasantry contributed little or nothing to the Communist revolution except gratefully accepting the land which the Red armies parcelled out to them as they advanced. There was no industrial laboring class or "proletariat" to speak of in China.

India, and the other "breeding spots," despite chronic famines, plagues and appalling conditions of life still has not succumbed to Communism. It may be argued that Asia is not the proper area in which to test the truth or error of the "empty stomachs make Communists" argument. Let us therefore look at Europe.

Eastern Europe was overrun by Red Armies during the latter part of World War II as the Germans were driven back to their Fatherland. Puppet Communist regimes, composed of native traitors who had fled to Moscow at the beginning of the war, travelled with the Soviet armies. They were installed in power over their hapless countries under the protection of Soviet bayonets and the secret police.

Where are Communism's "breeding spots" in western Europe? That is to say, if the argument has any validity, are they in those countries with the lowest per capita income and with the greatest poverty or backward economic conditions? The latest statistics available at the Library of Congress in Washington are for 1959 and they show Portugal with a \$239 per capita income, Spain \$313, and Greece \$350. The Communist Party is illegal in Spain and Portugal and there are admittedly some Communists in Greece. While radicalism (but not Communism) has been rife in Spain for generations it never made much progress in neighboring Portugal.

Ireland has been impoverished for generations. Its per capita income is one of the lowest in Europe — only \$601 in 1959 or less than half that of nearby Great Britain's \$1,272. There is no official Communist Party in Ireland although there is no legal ban against one. It is estimated that there are between 100 and 150 Communists in all of Eire. Yet, Great Britain, with twice the income of Ireland and an admittedly higher standard of living by the last count, had some 26,000 Communists and they polled 30,000 votes in the last election. How do all these profound pundits of the "poverty breeds Communism" school explain this away?

Sweden enjoys the highest per capita income in western Europe — \$1,560, closely followed by Switzerland with \$1,510. The United Kingdom is third with \$1,272, as already stated, and Belgium and Luxembourg are fourth with an annual per capita income of \$1,263. The State Department's 1961 intelligence Report "World Strength of the Communist Party Organizations" credits Sweden with 25,000 Communists and 190,559 votes with five seats in Parliament. Prosperous and democratic little Switzerland has 6,000 Communists with

three seats in parliament, while Belgium and Luxembourg have 11,500 Communists and some 320,000 ballot box supporters.

Switzerland, with a population of about twice that of Eire, has forty times as many Communists! Sweden, with the highest income in Europe and about 2½ times Ireland's population, has 166 times as many Communists as poor Ireland. Both Sweden and Switzerland are very advanced socially and there are no slums, ghettos, Okies, "oppressed minorities" or other signs of poverty or degradation such as one can easily find in many American cities. In other words: no "breeding spots for Communism"; yet, these two countries, with the highest living standards in Europe, have some 31,000 Communists in their midst working actively to overthrow what are undoubtedly two of the most advanced countries in the world.

Any high school student, with only the World's Almanac or any reference work he can find in a library, can quickly satisfy himself that the "breeding spots" theory which is the very foundation of our whole foreign aid program is a palpable myth without the slightest basis in fact. Here at home in the United States the same tests are even more damaging to the "poverty breeds Communism" myth.

U. S. News and World Report, April 11, 1952, page 35 published the latest F.B.I. estimates on Communists by states — New York 15,458, California 4,295 and Illinois 1,596. New York state that year ranked fourth in per capita income with \$2,038, California fifth with \$2,032 and Illinois sixth with \$1,983. In other words those three states with the largest concentration of Communists — 21,349 out of a national total of 31,608 were among the top six states in income.

New York, Illinois and California, because of their high incomes, were also among the top six states in per pupil expenditure on grade and secondary school education.

What about those states with the lowest per capita income and the lowest per pupil expenditure? Mississippi reported a per capita income of \$818 for 1952, Arkansas \$952 and South Carolina \$1,003. Their per pupil expenditure for education in grade and secondary schools was \$225, \$225 and \$223 respectively. New York spent \$585, California \$494, and Illinois \$457 per pupil. With incomes of less than half that of the more prosperous states and with commensurately lower per pupil expenditure, how do these three "bottom of the ladder" states fare as "natural breeding spots" for Communism if Supreme Court Justices, U. S. Senators, C.I.A. "experts on Communism" and other myth peddlers are to be believed?

The F.B.I. knew of only ONE Communist in all of Mississippi in 1952, twenty in Arkansas, and 15 in South Carolina. In other words these three states, with the lowest incomes and lowest per pupil expenditure altogether, had less Communists than you can find on most any eastern college campus or in nearly any city block in New York.

This, we hasten to point out, is no argument in favor of low incomes and limited educational advantages. On the contrary, it merely proves that an almost universally accepted belief about Communism is an easily demonstrable fallacy totally without scientific backing or support. In brief, a myth and a lie.

An even more telling and damaging refutation of this preposterous fallacy is merely to check through a list of say 200 witnesses who have taken the Fifth Amendment during the past 12 years before Congressional committees on questions of Communist membership or espionage activities. It is safe to assert that less than two or three percent were foreign born, illiterate, or the products of degraded social and economic conditions. Nearly all, with only three or four exceptions, came from good families, never went hungry a day in their lives, never suffered discrimination, and were all college graduates with exceptional scholastic honors. One has merely to recall such names as Alger Hiss, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Harry Dexter White, Lauchlin Currie, Noel Field, Philip Jaffe, Andrew Roth, Agnes Smedley, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, William Remington and a long list of others to realize the utter falsity of the assertion that Communists are the products of misery and degradation.

Similarly, an examination of the roster of top Communist officials in this country during the past forty years, totaling several hundred, would show probably less than two or three percent with authentic proletarian or working class backgrounds. Just as the leadership of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia was almost exclusively middle class or intellectual, so that of American Communism has been almost entirely lower middle class and intellectual, or, at least, pseudo-intellectual.

Over ten years ago the N. Y. World Telegram's financial expert, Lawrence Fertig, exploded this fallacy in his column in that paper. He wrote:

"We cannot successfully meet the threat of Communism by repeating over and over again, like an incantation, false phrases which become false guides to national policy. One of these phrases which has been sold to the country is that 'the way to beat communism is to improve economic conditions.' We have been told that there is a direct relationship between the economic status of a people and communism; that the poorest nations are attracted to communism and that, as those with low incomes get more of the necessities and conveniences of life, they will turn away from it. Our foreign policy has been geared to it."

Mr. Fertig then went on to deride Paul Hoffman's belief that if we could improve the annual income of backward countries by as little as \$200 per capita per year the threat of communism could be eliminated. Mr. Fertig exposed this fallacy by contrasting examples of high income European countries having a large number of Communists with impoverished nations like Ireland and Spain which had hardly any Communists.

Norman Thomas, the well known Socialist, as long ago as 1952, came around to the position where he, too, publicly admitted that there were "some dangerous half-truths still in circulation in America" about Communism. Writing in the January 7, 1952, *New Leader*, Thomas said: that Communism:

"Has the quality of religion — an evil religion, but still religion — and religions are never wholly explained merely as by-products of economic conditions. . . .

"Let's look at the facts: no revolution in history was ever made by the **Lumpen-proletariat**, or by the poorest of the poor. Communist revolutions are no exception. In Eastern Europe and Asia, groups or parties have very successfully manipulated masses of peasants as well as workers by promising them bread and land and peace. But the

Communist elite was not recruited from men whose primary desire was bread or land. Rather it came from those who wanted power — or who wanted 'social justice' which always required that they have power."

Thomas then went on to point out that democratic and prosperous Czechoslovakia fell into Communist hands without a shot being fired while teeming, war-wracked and starving Italy consistently defeated Communism at the polls and remained free. Thomas also pointed out that in India, land of chronic famines and abysmally low living conditions, "the Communist Party has been recruited almost exclusively from what are economically the upper classes of India, including college graduates."

Yet, as recently as April, 1961, the Inspector General of C.I.A., Lyman Kirkpatrick, told the National Military-Industrial and Educational Conference in Chicago:

"Fourth, students in the world should not be permitted to have empty stomachs and intolerable living conditions. These conditions breed Communism regardless of the education they receive."

When the Inspector General of such a renowned intelligence agency as C.I.A. publicly demonstrates that he does not know very much about Communism it becomes easier to understand why less well informed citizens still go about the land solemnly preaching as gospel truth the palpably absurd notion that "the only way to fight communism is to improve democracy and dry up the breeding spots of poverty, illiteracy, and social backwardness."

More Fallacies

Fallacy No. 2: "Communism is not a threat to the United States because in a nation of 180 million the Communists were never able to enroll more than 100,000 members since they were founded 42 years ago. The Communists have never been able to elect a single party member to Congress or to any state or municipal office. Their present strength is estimated to be less than fifteen thousand and an actual decline of more than half since 1952."

This fallacy is generally and widely accepted as truth by millions of uninformed people. Indeed, the Communists themselves like to make a great show of their numerical insignificance. However, they are always quick to add that because of their "correct" understanding of the correlation of social forces, their guiding "scientific" principles of Marxism-Leninism and their "militancy," their leadership is accepted by all "progressive and peace-loving elements in the population."

The Director of the F.B.I. has frequently pointed out that for every known party member, the Communists can depend on at least ten **non-party sympathizers or supporters** to carry out faithfully and persistently at least 80% of the party's policies and activities. Other experts estimate the ratio of such fellow travellers to party members to be as high as 25 or 30 to one, or even higher.

As a largely submerged and invisible conspiracy, the Communist Party's potential cannot be gauged by its open and admitted membership. This is like

dismissing a nuclear powered submarine carrying Polaris missiles as of little military threat because its periscope is merely a twelve or fifteen foot pipe with some mirrors in one end. The real danger of the Communist Party is posed not by its total known membership but where they are. One hundred thousand Communists all picking cotton or washing dishes in restaurants would obviously be of less danger to this country than one hundred secret Alger Hisses placed in strategic positions in the government, colleges, and public opinion-moulding spots where critical policies are formulated and the thinking of millions is determined.

With perhaps the lone exception of the Indian State of Kerala, Communists have never yet come to power by a simple ballot box majority. In Kerala they were thrown out of office a few years later by an executive fiat of Nehru, not by a reversal at the polls. Yet, Communists control today roughly one third of all mankind! Americans conditioned by 180 years of political majority rule and by ballot box changes of government therefore are all too prone to believe that Communists present no serious threat to this country because they could never win a national election. They did not win any national election in Czechoslovakia in 1948 either but nevertheless took over power there bloodlessly without a single armed detachment going into action.

Fallacy No. 3: "No true American would ever fall for Communism. Most Communists are foreign born, unassimilated elements, low, dirty ignorant people."

This fallacy, widely held 25 and 30 years ago has now been fairly well dispelled by the disclosures of Congressional investigating committees, trials and convictions of Soviet spies in this country and the admissions and revelations of disaffected important Communists.

One of Elizabeth Bentley's ancestors signed the Declaration of Independence, and a lineal descendant of Daniel Boone is a leading Communist official in New England. While many of the original founders and leading lights of the Communist Party were foreign born, often with a limited command of English, John Reed, Earl Browder, Robert Minor, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Lem Harris, Robert Thompson, Grace Hutchins, Anna Rochester, Josephine Trueslow Adams, and a number of others, could all claim generations of old American ancestry.

Communism is a fearsome intellectual leprosy or, if you prefer, a cancer of the human soul. It strikes across racial, social, religious, economic, and class lines. It can infect a millionaire scion of an old American family but be rejected with ridicule and contempt by an illiterate immigrant. One of the greatest intellects of our time, Albert Einstein, was deeply bemused with pro-Communist sympathy while millions of ordinary Americans who never were graduated from high school rejected its sophistries with disdain.

It is a striking indictment of the lack of vision and understanding on the part of the great foundations that no scientific research, extended to at least several thousand case histories, has ever been conducted into the problem of why people turn to Communism. Millions have been wasted on all manner of incon-

sequential research projects involving rose leaf aphids, cockroaches, and white mice but scarcely a cent has ever been appropriated to determine, scientifically, why some 300,000 or more Americans succumbed to intellectual leprosy in this country since 1919. That is roughly the estimate of the total number of persons who, for one reason or another, abandoned western civilization to sell their souls to the Communist conspiracy, only to have their eyes opened by inner party life and activities and then quietly drop out and keep silent the rest of their days.

From such few confessions as we have from former Communists in the way of books and testimony we know the reasons why **they** became Communists without shedding too much light on just how and why thousands of others made the plunge.

Fallacy No. 4: "Only emotionally unstable, maladjusted, mentally defective, spiteful, and hatefully anti-social elements ever become Communists. Communism appeals only to natural screwballs, beatniks, and crackpots."

This is perhaps a half or quarter truth. A few people of this type always find their way into any revolutionary movement but never into its leadership.

Even the most superficial study of a score of top Communist leaders would quickly dispel this illusion. Lenin was a near genius — an evil genius — but a man of brilliant intellect nevertheless. Trotsky, Rakovsky, Lunacharsky, and most of the early Bolsheviks who set up the Soviet state were men of more than ordinary intellect and with substantial backgrounds of culture. Some of America's finest minds succumbed to the seductive lures of Communism — at least for a time in their impressionable youth. Indeed, the basic appeal of Communism is precisely to the idealistic intellectual of college age maturity.

Fallacy No. 5: "Communism is an idea and therefore cannot be combatted with force but only with a "better idea." Communism cannot be destroyed with weapons or force but only in the "marketplace of ideas and through the free interplay of open debate."

This is, in fact, a double fallacy. First of all, ideas can and have been stamped out by force provided the force was ruthless enough. History is replete with many examples. Christianity arose in the Near East and northern Africa for hundreds of years before it slowly spread to Europe. All the early scholars and saints of Christianity lived in that area bounding the Mediterranean on the east and south.

In the seventh century A.D. Islam swept out of the deserts of Arabia almost to the gates of Paris and deep into Asia. Christianity virtually disappeared in its strongholds of the Near East and north Africa as the populations were given the choice of conversion to Mohammedanism or death.

Hitler's National Socialism was an idea which he boasted would last a thousand years. Allied and Soviet military power — not ideas — smashed and destroyed it, very probably forever, in a matter of a few years of military operations.

The second half of the fallacy is that Communism is a dialectic which can be overcome and destroyed in the free marketplace of ideas. Communism

is a dynamic and fanatically directed conspiracy aimed at achieving total world power for the remaking of all mankind and all social and economic patterns and orders. Communists are not the least bit interested in debate or what they contemptuously call "parliamentary cretinism" but only in taking power. Theirs is a fanatic religion of materialism.

Once they take over a country the free marketplace of ideas is quickly shut down. Every highway of thought and by-path of the mind is blocked off and placed under total mind control. The most fearsome aspect of Communism is not so much its physical slavery and degradation but, as George Orwell so brilliantly depicted it in his book "1984," the enslavement of the human soul, so that even one's stray thoughts become the concern of the secret police.

A widespread **collateral fallacy** in this country of businessmen is "You could never **sell** Communism to the American people." Communism is likened to a commodity which in competition with other commodities must be packaged and successfully "sold" to a majority of the electorate. Inasmuch as freedom and democracy are obviously so far superior to the oppression and denial of all human rights under Communism it obviously can never be "sold" to any people of even limited intelligence.

This fallacy is in itself so specious and self-revealing that it hardly requires refutation. It does point out the basic and underlying weakness or Achilles Heel in western thinking and the primary cause of our inability to grasp the meaning of Communism, namely, our congenital and psychological failure in interpreting all Communist actions and manifestations in the thought patterns and reference frames of western thought and motivation. We never question the fact that it is useless and dangerous to use the criteria of the western world in studying and evaluating the entirely new type of humanity. We stick stubbornly to the delusion that "people are people no matter what their race, religion, or nationality and in given situations they will always act or react as normal human beings." The trouble with this argument is that as we have already pointed out Communists, at least their hard core cadre leadership, are **not ordinary human beings** just as Hitler, Himmler, and Eichmann were not normal, ordinary human beings.

Fallacy No. 6: "Admitted that Communism in Russia and China has been harsh, brutal, and ruthless, the sacrifice of millions was necessary to create a new and higher form of social organization. As Goering once justified Nazi brutalities by saying, "You can't have an omelet without breaking eggshells." The ultimate goal of Communism is the emancipation of all mankind from the horrors of war, poverty, degradation, economic exploitation, crime, and racial and national hatreds. The end aim is Communism which Jesus and His disciples practiced — from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs. What is wrong with that?"

The reverend clergy and idealists are naturally prone to fall for **that one**. The vision of a nobler and finer life for all on this earth is nothing to sneer at. Under the impulse of earlier religions and finally Christianity men of all races and times have dreamed of a better world, of a New Jerusalem or Christ's King-

dom on earth. Communists are master confidence men and they know just which forms of bait to use on their hooks to catch the biggest and most useful suckers whether they be idealists, dreamers, deeply religious people, opportunists, self-seekers, or criminals.

As Communism is atheism and the total negation of all religious faith, it is downright blasphemous to link precepts of Christ with the pretended objectives of Communism. Yet more than a few ministers and religious leaders have either credulously swallowed this fallacy hook, line and sinker, or, even worse, have themselves given circulation to this most vicious and patently false of all fallacies about Communism.

There is now an ample library of documentation and reports by eye witnesses and first hand observers on the "heaven on earth" character of Communism. Some forty million human beings are estimated to have perished under Communism since 1917 in Russia, China, and the satellites. They were butchered in massacres "liquidating socially useless classes," in wars waged by Communists against inoffensive peoples, in planned mass famines, and as a result of terror against individuals classified as "class enemies." A few historic examples should suffice: the extermination of all opposition to the Bolsheviks 1917-21, the "liquidation of the kulaks as a class" 1930-32 (five million in the Ukraine), the bloody Soviet purges of 1936-38, Katyn Forest and Vinnitza, North Korea, China (ten to fifteen million between 1948 and 1960) and Tibet (65,000).

Fallacy No. 7: "Granted all that has been said and written about Communism is true, there is little we can do about it in this country. Soviet Russia and Red China are here to stay and are part of the world so the best we can hope for is an uneasy accommodation. Communists are really very tough people and we should so conduct our relations with them that we will not give them any pretext to get still tougher and nastier. In time, they will probably settle down, and, like the Vikings, Saracens and Mongols, cease to be a problem to Christendom. In the meantime it might be a good idea to hope for the best."

This, in simplest essence and language, just about sums up the philosophical abstractions of the George F. Kennan school of "experts" on the USSR. It is essentially the line followed by the N. Y. Times and most liberals who take their cues from that august authority. It is the line handed down by thousands of professors in hundreds of colleges. It is, of course, also the line of Vera Micheles Dean and her Foreign Policy Association.

Strictly speaking, this is not a fallacy but is really intellectual decadence doing its best to demoralize and weaken the West. It is, of course, also completely acceptable to the Communists so that secret sympathizers can safely employ it without much risk of exposure or denunciation. The giveaway is that the same people did not use this line in dealing with Nazis or Fascists. Here the United States could not go to war too soon to destroy these rivals of Communism. Nazism, Fascism, Japanese militarism, Falangism, Trujilloism, all totalitarians of the right must be destroyed to protect democracy but **not** Communism. Nothing can possibly be done about Communism so we had better leave it alone.

This one should not be too hard to reason out for yourself. Can you see through it?

Fallacy No. 8: "Attacking or criticizing Communism is anti-liberalism and definitely classifies one as a "reactionary."

While this was originally not a fallacy but a mental malady of the liberal world it has in time become accepted in even respectable company. If there is anything that the phony liberal instinctively shies away from and fears like the bubonic plague, it is that of being considered "reactionary" or conservative. So psychopathic is the hatred of some pseudo-liberals that they would rather be found dead than to be connected even remotely or casually with any anti-Communist action.

The prefixes "pseudo" and "phony" before the word "liberal" is used advisedly. A true liberal fully understands that Communism is a far greater threat to all human freedom and basic values than anything else in the world excepting only fascism which is merely the other side of the totalitarian coin. The true liberal will devote just as much or even more time and effort to combatting Communism as he will to fighting fascism.

Not so the phony liberal! He is easy to spot. He will go through transports of anguish and well simulated indignation over the barring of a single colored student from some southern college, but the massacre of 35,000 Hungarian freedom fighters, including school children, leaves him strangely silent. The phony liberal can get all worked up over the alleged police mistreatment of rioting American college students, but ten million Christians dying slowly and horribly in Soviet slave labor camps leave him blasé and unimpressed. The pseudo-liberal is always worked up over some minor or imagined defect on our side of the fence but the torture and massacre of millions by the Communists in China is many millions of light years away in space as far as he is morally or spiritually concerned.

Fallacy No. 9: "Merely being opposed to Communism is not constructive or positive. One should be for something not just against something."

While originally not a fallacy but an adroit stratagem devised by the Communists to divert attention and opposition away from themselves it has been so successfully developed and diffused throughout the non-Communist world that in time it became one of the almost universally accepted "truths" about Communism. It is the favorite misconception of many individuals and organizations who fancy themselves "anti-Communist." Much of the American Legion's positive "Americanism program is based on this fallacy that Communism can be beaten by drum and bugle corps, oratorical contests, accident prevention campaigns, and making better citizens of our youth. Some leaders use the excuse that anti-Communism is "too controversial and may lose us members."

Another organization which collects hundreds of thousands of dollars each year to spend on medals, scrolls, and plaques for the best school essays, letters to editors, speeches, articles, etc., etc., also seems to labor under the delusion that such "positive" action is far more effective in combatting Communism than the purely "negative" approach of teaching students the nature of Communism and how Communists work as well as training people to spot and reject the Communist party line, in self-protection against being duped into fronting for traitors.

As we have already pointed out in another chapter, diverting attention and concern away from themselves and keeping potential opponents fully occupied with all manner of altruistic and worthwhile causes **which does not affect or bother them** is one of the most important tactical weapons in the already formidable armament system of the Communists. In unions and other non-Communist organizations in this country this diversionary tactic has been highly successful.

Here again we have a blatant and easily demonstrable fallacy which ordinary logic and reflection should expose and demolish without much effort. The work of a city fireman, policeman, or garbage collector is almost entirely "negative." They are **against** fires and arsonists; **against** crime, violence and breaches of the peace; and **against** filth and unsanitary conditions. Most of a doctor's life and work is not so much for good health as it is negatively **against** disease, injury, and poor health. The clergy and other moral leaders while they preach and advance victorious living and man's faith in God also must of necessity be "against" evil and sin; not in general terms either, but in specifics.

One has but to look around at the various trades and professions to see that the basic and underlying motive is not always "positive" and "for something" as it is negative and against something. Indeed, from one's first breath to his dying moment, life is an endless struggle **against** hunger, thirst, illness, discomfort, and all that threatens one's peace and security. This fallacy was probably first coined by Communists or secret sympathizers and then spread far and wide by uncritical and uneducated non-Communists who thought they had discovered an infallible truth.

So, the next time you hear someone retail this fallacy, suggest to him in a friendly way, that the next time he gets sick or injured, instead of calling a doctor or going to the hospital and being **against** illness or pain, he should take sitting up and deep breathing exercises and improve his health by being **for** something instead of merely "against" it.

Fallacy No. 10: "Another equally fraudulent argument which has been commonly used in the last few years and which likewise is based on a demonstrable fallacy is the "two systems are approaching each other" gimmick. This one too, probably originated in the brain of a smart Communist or was cooked up in Moscow. It is based on a totally false analogy that parallel lines meet at a far distant point. This is true as far as perspective is concerned because of the limitations of the human eye. Actually, of course, two equidistant railroad rails starting in New York and crossing the continent for 3000 miles are still the same distance apart when they reach Oakland, California.

The 19 year old son of an anti-anti-Communist TV commentator pulled off this phony argument last year on his father's nationwide TV show. The boy had just returned from "studying in Moscow" and was full of praise for the Soviet system. Then with a great air of profundity he observed that Communism in Russia was gradually getting more and more conservative and quasi-capitalist while at the same time we were moving more and more over toward the left and near Socialism in this country. Eventually the two systems would gradually

coalesce and merge and all our worries about Communism would be over. It should not take too much study or even casual reading to refute this preposterous but, nevertheless, slightly plausible fallacy.

Fallacy No. 11: "Merely because we dislike the whole concept of Communism does not alter the fact that it is nevertheless a political idea — a distasteful and abhorrent idea but under the Constitution entitled to a hearing as a political argument for an improved society. Outlaw or repress Communists and a most disastrous breach will have been made in the walls of Constitutional guarantees and basic American freedoms."

The U. S. Supreme Court in a number of decisions involving Communist defendants and issues has used this argument or fallacy as the basis for ruling in favor of the Communists. These decisions are fully treated in a separate chapter on "Communists and the Law." It was Senator Jenner of Indiana, a staunch and intelligent anti-Communist, who in a speech on the Senate floor in 1957 pointed out that a mere majority of five justices had placed themselves against the combined judgments of thousands of lower court judges, state legislatures, Congress, state supreme courts, state investigating committees, juries and others who had heard and decided Communist cases and found that Communists were conspirators in violation of the law and not mere political dissidents as the Supreme Court would have us believe.

Senator Jenner said:

Reasonable men may err. If the Court had erred only once or twice in these decisions involving the greatest threat to human freedom which history ever had to look upon, reasonable men could find excuses for it. But what shall we say of this parade of decisions that came down from our highest bench on Red Monday after Red Monday?

The Senate was wrong. The House of Representatives was wrong, the Department of Justice was wrong. The state legislatures were wrong. The state courts were wrong. The prosecutors, federal and state, were wrong. The juries were wrong. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was wrong. The Loyalty Review Board was wrong. The New York Board of Education was wrong. The Ohio Committee on Un-American Activities was wrong.

Everybody was wrong except the attorneys for the Communist conspiracy and the majority of the Supreme Court!"

Senator Jenner then quoted editor David Lawrence of the U. S. News and World Report as calling these various pro-Communist decisions "Treason's Biggest Victory."

Fallacy No. 12: "All Communists must preach Communism openly or at least frankly proclaim their beliefs. As a necessary corollary, anyone who does not openly preach Communism or openly proclaim his Communist position is obviously not a Communist. In other words, only Communists engage in pro-Communist activity and if no known Communists can be identified with a publication, movement, organization, group or enterprise it is proof *ipso facto* that there is neither Communist instigation, influence, or control connected with it in any way whatsoever."

Communists never, or perhaps more correctly, seldom advocate Communism as such. (See C. P. publication, "The American Way To Jobs, Peace

and Democracy," New Century Publishers, N. Y. C., 1954.) They know full well from long experience that people all over the world want no part of Communism and will never voluntarily accept it if they have any choice. When some of Lenin's moderate associates once advocated that they would first have to educate the Russian people to the benefits of Socialism as a step to taking power by orderly democratic process, Lenin snorted that it would take 400 years to sell the benefits of Socialism and convince a majority of the people that they should vote for it and that he did not have 400 years to wait.

Communists are concerned with seizure of power. They would naturally prefer to take power through non-violent means as they did in Czechoslovakia. If force and violence are necessary they are ready to use any and all means to seize power whether it be by sudden coup de etat as in Russia in 1917, by guerilla warfare and sabotage over a relatively short period of time as in Cuba, or by protracted conflict over a period of twenty years as was the case in China.

They are therefore not at all interested in trying to sell the merits of Communism to anyone. The education can come **after** the Communists take power through terror, executions, slave labor camps, massive brainwashing as in China, and finally the education of youth for the future Socialist state.

Before a crop can be planted the soil must be plowed, harrowed, fertilized and otherwise prepared. Similarly with Communism, the country to be taken over must first be fragmentized with large segments neutralized. Then the deadly virus of demoralization and defeatism must be injected into the blood stream of the nation's morale. Basic faiths such as religion and patriotism must be leached away and thoroughly rotted through so that when the final blow comes a badly divided, confused, and demoralized people are incapable of forming any effective united front against the Communist enemy.

One has but to look around with a perceptive eye to see ample evidence of such deliberate rotting away of national morale and destruction of traditional values and moral absolutes to realize that such Communist preparatory work has been already considerably advanced in these United States. The poor morale of a substantial proportion of our troops in Korea as compared with World War II is perhaps the most telling indicator of how far morale disintegration has already advanced.

Most of this demoralization and disintegration work as a prelude to a Communist seizure of power is not carried on by Communists at all. Indeed, while Communists may plan and select initial targets and methods, the bulk of this softening up dirty work is done by well-meaning folk who regard themselves as liberals or "progressive" and even fancy themselves as heading off Communism. Typhoid Mary was quite indignant when New York health authorities tried to stop her from domestic work when they finally traced her down as a dangerous germ carrier who herself was not affected by the dread disease she carried wherever she went. She refused to believe the doctors who tried to tell her that she was highly infective no matter how clean she might otherwise be.

It has now been well established that exposure of their tactics, methods of operation, and current political "line" is one thing which Communists cannot

stand. They will go to extraordinary lengths to silence or avert such exposure. Therefore, anyone, no matter how sincere he or she may appear, or how altruistic and selfless their activity may be, who consistently, over a period of time, engages in activities which either divert concern and attention away from Communists, or who demoralizes, weakens, or tends to disintegrate national morale and unity without ever once attacking or exposing Communists (as distinguished from empty rhetorical denunciations of Communism) lays himself or herself open to suspicion of being either a conscious and deliberate secret ally of Communism, or a well-meaning and unwitting dupe unintentionally aiding the Communist conspiracy. The latter, of course, always exceed the former by a ratio of perhaps a hundred to one.

Recommended Reading

Beyond Containment (Chap. VI)	Chamberlin, Regnery, 1953
Contradictions of Communism	Senate Internal Security Sub. Comm., 1959, GPO, Washington, D.C. 20¢
The Naked Communist	Skousen, Ensign Publishing Co., Salt Lake City, 1958
Masters of Deceit	Hoover, Holt, 1957
Ideological Fallacies of Communism	House Comm. Un-American Activities, 1957, GPO, Washington, D. C. 15¢
The Fallacy of Communism	Saar, Meador Press, Boston, 1957
Sociology and Psychology of Communism	Monnerot
The Secret Name	Lin Yutang, Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1958
The Menace of Communism	Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover before House Committee On Un-American Activities
"The American Way to Jobs, Peace and Democracy"	Official Communist Party Publication, New Century Publishers, N. Y., N. Y., 1954

Lesson No. Four

1. Why is it so difficult for western non-Communists to fathom Communist mentality?
2. What is wrong with this statement: "Communism breeds on poverty, ignorance, and human degradation?"
3. What is wrong with this statement: "Communists present no threat to this country as there are less than twenty thousand of them in the country according to the F.B.I.?"
4. What is wrong with this statement: "All Communists are unassimilated foreigners, devoid of education and proper upbringing?"
5. What is wrong with the statement: "All Communists are maladjusted social misfits, nuts, or cranks. Give one of them \$10,000 and he would immediately drop Communism and become a capitalist?"
6. What is wrong with this statement: "Communism is a radical political philosophy which although abhorrent to all Americans nevertheless deserves a hearing in the free marketplace of ideas?"
7. What is wrong with this statement: "Communism can only be overcome with a better idea. Merely attacking and exposing Communists is negativism and hence sterile and useless?"
8. What is wrong with the following: "All Communist activity is openly carried on by Communists — if there are no known Communists in an organization or behind a movement it obviously cannot be Communist?"

CHAPTER V

COMMUNIST MANIPULATION OF LANGUAGE

In another chapter we have already quoted from Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, General Eisenhower and other world leaders admitting their inability to grasp and fully understand Communist mentality and motivation. We have shown that Communists as a tactical device have always camouflaged and enshrouded their operations with deception, planted misinformation, and mystification. Heart and soul of this elaborate strategy of obfuscation is the Communist manipulation of our language as well as the creation of an entirely new coded language of their own. This coded language conveys one definite sense and meaning to initiated Communists and sympathetic supporters. It carries an entirely different and deceptive meaning to the non-Communist world.

This chapter will be very hard to follow unless one has first read Orwell's "1984" and Possony's "Language as a Weapon," the latter a consultation with the House Comm. on Un-American Activities in 1959 and printed as a report by that Committee. Louis Budenz, in his writings and lectures, has also gone to great pains to explain just what Communist "Newspeak" or Aesopian language means. When Lenin was trying to circulate his revolutionary writings under the watchful eyes of the Czar's secret police he found himself forced to use "that cursed language of slaves" by masking his real meaning under innocuous and deceptive language, depending on his trained Bolsheviki to read between the lines.

Dr. Possony, an outstanding authority on Communist political warfare, told the House Committee that "manipulation of language constitutes one of the Communists' most potent weapons in their drive for world domination." He also said, "To the Communists words are tools to achieve effects, not means to communicate in search of truth." He might very well have added that Communists are waging total and unrelenting war against the free world for domination of the globe and that every conceivable weapon must be used to its maximum power in order to destroy us.

For the first sixteen years of their existence in the country, the Communists used Russian revolutionary terminology even to calling American independent farmers "kulaks." The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in 1935 changed all that. It was decided that the open use of revolutionary terminology merely served to expose Communists and to scare away possible converts.

"Revolution" was changed to "liberation," "world conquest by the proletariat" was changed to "peace and Socialism." Armed seizure of power and liquidation of the bourgeoisie was delicately rephrased to read "peaceful and gradual transition to Socialism." Even the "noble" word **Communist**, of which every commy is proud, was disguised as "progressive," "anti-Fascist" or even "liberal."

Not only were new words substituted for old and outworn ones and different new meanings given to words, but to befuddle better and confuse their enemies the Communists devised what amounts to a new language but which used old words as a basic dictionary. For example, when Khrushchev addressed the Supreme Soviet in Moscow, after he had grossly insulted Pres. Eisenhower and had scuttled the Paris Summit Conference in May 1960, he said: "Imperialism arouses the wrath of the people and digs its own grave." He received a round of applause from the assembled Communist leaders because they knew exactly what Khrushchev meant: "Through our manipulation of local Communist parties and our vast auxiliary corps of dupes and sympathizers we shall so arrange matters that capitalism and democracy will be destroyed from within and we shall only have to push it into its grave."

An uninstructed non-Communist, reading Khrushchev's observation "Imperialism arouses the wrath of the people and digs its own grave," would dismiss it as mere "Communist bombast."

On December 6, 1960, a manifesto was issued by the assembled representatives of 81 Communist Parties in Moscow. The manifesto has been reprinted and scattered far and wide throughout the free world but only a handful of trained experts or former Communists are capable of decoding out of it the real meaning and intent. Consider this formulation:

"The formation and consolidation of national democracies enables the countries concerned to make rapid social progress and play an active part in the people's struggle for peace, against the aggressive policies of the imperialist camp, for the abolition of the colonial yoke."

To the average non-Communist there is certainly nothing sinister here if we use ordinary dictionary definitions for ordinary words. Translated, however, into Communist Newspeak here is what is actually meant:

"The carrying out of the Theses of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern on the Colonial question has resulted in the amputation from the western European colonial powers of most of their important colonies. This loss of economic and political blood cannot but have a serious weakening effect on our main adversaries. By stripping the capitalists of all their holdings in these new states we have compromised their leaders in the illegal possession of this wealth, enabling them to buy up substantial support among the very lowest and poorest classes for the defense of their regimes. It will, in turn, enormously strengthen the influence and prestige of our native Communist parties and materially advance the drive toward the complete abolition of bourgeois capitalism all over the world."

By encoding their real instructions and ideas in this coded language of their own, the Communists are able to advocate treason, circumvent anti-

sedition laws, and carry on all manner of unrestricted Communist activity without having to fear either prosecution or even exposure.

A small anti-Communist study group in a Midwest city a few years ago handed out copies of various Communist publications to its students. They were all instructed to study the material carefully and to come back to the next meeting prepared to discuss some particular part of the Communist line or example of Communist propaganda. A dear old lady from one of our patriotic organizations spent a week or two mulling over the **Daily Worker**. She reported back with obvious embarrassment that she was simply unable to find any "typical Communist propaganda" in the **Daily Worker**! The explanation of course, is simple — she had never been instructed in Communist Newspeak and, as the Communists laughingly describe it, "was unable to grasp the dialectic."

Speakers and lecturers are constantly asked how it is possible for Communists to deceive and bamboozle so many otherwise intelligent people with endless phony front organizations and outwardly humanitarian and altruistic movements which invariably turn out to be Communist booby traps. Highly adroit and ingenious swindling techniques are not the sole answer. Language is basic to all human communication. Twist and distort language into a political warfare weapon and you attack the enemy at his most vulnerable point — his mind and intelligence center.

Macauley once defined Hell as having to listen for all eternity to history being falsified and being able to do nothing about it. It is equally tormenting for anti-Communists, year after year, having to listen to pro-Communist arguments and bits of the "party line" by well-meaning people who fancy themselves as being "against Communism," and not having the foggiest notion of the origin of their observations and ideas, or, having people solemnly quote from original Communist sources to prove that Communists really are not as wicked as they are painted, but that they frequently support worthy and noble causes as their own literature proves.

Much of the failure of the West to come to grips with the world Communist problem and the resultant confusion and indecision stems directly from this central fact of Communist manipulation of language to their advantage and to our continuing frustration, befuddlement, and defeat. This also explains, in large measure, why Communists nearly always manage to come away from the conference and negotiation table with non-Communists with not only a propaganda advantage but substantial parts of their opponents' wardrobe.

It is, therefore, useless and a waste of time for an uninstructed anti-Communist to dig through reams of Communist literature hoping to find "proof" and evidence of Communist duplicity and perfidy which he can use against them. Communists are past masters in self-censoring every word they publish lest it be used against them either legally or in polemics. Decoding Communist Newspeak requires trained and expert instruction.

Let us now examine a few examples of Communist Newspeak. Peace, whether we consult Webster, the Oxford dictionary or the dictionary of any non-Communist land in the world means "a state of rest or tranquillity, calm, free-

dom from war, violence or disturbance.” Not so to a Communist. By Marxist-Leninist dogma, war is an inseparable part of capitalism. In order to achieve world peace it is obviously necessary to destroy capitalism and private property all over the world. Thus in Communist Newspeak the total eradication of private property, i.e., Communism, is “peace.” Waging war therefore to achieve Communism is nothing more than waging “peace.” Remember the slogans in Orwell’s “1984” — “peace is war,” “freedom is slavery” and “Ignorance is strength.”

Peaceful coexistence to a non-Communist means exactly what the two words say — living together side by side in peace and non-interference in each other’s affairs. For some inexplicable reason, probably sheer contempt for bourgeois mentality and inability to grasp Marxian dialectics or exuberant confidence that the triumph of Communism all over the world was not far away, Khrushchev surprisingly let the cat out of the bag in a secret Moscow speech released on January 18 of 1961. He frankly warned us that:

“Peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems does not mean reconciliation between the Socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies an intensification of the struggle of the working class and of all Communist parties for the triumph of socialist ideas.”

In other words, “peaceful coexistence” means something entirely different to the Communists than it does to us. As the Communists understand the term it means that the bourgeois or free world does nothing to restrain or inconvenience world Communism but passively permits the Communists to proceed with their plans to take over the world. Yet, despite this obvious discrepancy between what the two systems believe “peaceful coexistence” to mean, there are literally millions of people in the West who still believe that the Communists have the same definition of the term in mind, when they speak of “peaceful coexistence,” as we do.

It is naturally beyond the scope of this work to compile a complete glossary or thesaurus of all Communist perversions of ordinary language into their Newspeak. The following examples should suffice the average student.

Aggression. Defined in the Soviet Encyclopedia (1949) as “the basic method of the foreign policy of imperialist states in the epoch of imperialism, when contradictions are sharpened to the extreme; the method of forcibly dividing the world.” In ordinary English or any other language aggression means to begin a quarrel or to start an attack. In Communist Newspeak those who defend themselves against Communist aggression are the real aggressors. Little Finland in 1940 became the “aggressor” when it sought to defend itself against unprovoked Soviet attack. The United States was an “imperialist aggressor” when it came to the defense of South Korea under sudden and unprovoked attack by Communist North Korea.

Atomic diplomacy. Atomaniacs. When Khrushchev threatens Great Britain with atomic destruction over the Egypt-Suez incident he is merely trying to maintain “peace” and protect the right of small nations to despoil larger ones at their pleasure! On the other hand, any show of U. S. or western military force to maintain the status quo or to resist Communist aggression, as in Berlin, is by

definition "atomic diplomacy." Those engaging in such "atomic diplomacy" are dubbed "atomaniacs" in the Soviet dictionary with the suggestion that they should be locked away for the good of the "peace-loving world."

Bourgeois (adjective) **Bourgeoisie** (noun). A key, and hence badly over-worked Communist smear word, derived from the French for the middle class or property owning classes. In the Communist lexicon it is also a hate symbol for everything gross, contemptible and despicable in this world. Usually coupled with the words "swine" or "idiot." To the Communist mind you are a "bourgeois swine" if you believe in free enterprise and try to acquire a competence for yourself and family. You are a "bourgeois idiot" if you fail to understand or appreciate the ineffable beauty of the Communist vision, or if you reject the revelation of Marx and Lenin.

Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin, who both came from bourgeois families, for some unknown reason developed a virulent hatred bordering on phobia for their own class. In fact, both of them seemed to hate the bourgeoisie even more than they did the capitalists and the ruling classes of their own countries. Friedrich Engels, who supported Marx for many years and kept him from starving to death, was a bourgeois capitalist and the son of wealthy cotton mill owners.

Capitalism. Generally defined by non-Marxists as the free enterprise or private property system as opposed to Socialism or collectivist system. That economic system under which western civilization burgeoned and outstripped the rest of the world and older cultures during the past two or three hundred years. To a Communist the epitome of all evil and hence to be uprooted and destroyed throughout the world as a pre-condition to entering into the Promised Land of Communism. Many political scientists consider the Soviet system to be, in fact, state capitalism because capitalism has not been destroyed in Russia but was merely seized and transferred from private ownership to the all-powerful and monolithic Communist dictatorship.

Communism. Another word which has lost its original dictionary meaning. Once defined as the common ownership and use of all property for the maximum good of all people. There have been numerous historical attempts at various forms of Communism since the days of Plato. What Communism actually means today in Russia and Red China has been the subject of exhaustive exposure, and a mountain of documentation is available to those seeking knowledge on the subject.

To dedicated Communists, Communism is the "noblest concept which the human mind is capable of conceiving" and hence a vision of beauty and glory which "bourgeois swine," with their snouts deep in the swill of materialism, cannot even perceive. Soviet Russia today is passing through the last stages of Socialism and hopes soon to enter in the glory of full blown Communism. Red China by a "great leap forward" is trying to leap-frog and outstrip Russia and jump directly into Communism through the commune system and mass brain-washing. The results thus far seem to be mass misery, degradation, and widespread famine.

Democracy. Generally defined in the West as government by the people through freely elected representatives; political or social equality. Loose newspaper usage has now generally watered down the original meaning of democracy to cover any and all reasonably free forms of government as distinguished from totalitarian dictatorships. To the Communists "bourgeois" or western democracy is a sham and a fraud. The "scientific" laws of Marxism-Leninism have laid down upon the Communist party the stern historical duty of changing the world and remaking mankind into a nobler and higher image. This obviously cannot be achieved by persuasive methods and protracted education of the masses and eventually securing a majority mandate. The Communist seizure of power and the creation of a dictatorship is therefore justified on the grounds that it is done for the good of the masses even if they do not have the wit and intelligence to give the Communists a democratic majority mandate. Therefore, the only true democracy is Soviet democracy. Communists see nothing contradictory in the frequently used term "a peoples democratic dictatorship," to describe certain transitional regimes passing from western democracy into the Soviet orbit.

Dialectical materialism. A form of Communist mental contortion whereby Communists can prove that black is white and white really is black. Communists have never precisely defined the term or exactly what they mean by dialectical materialism but insist it cannot be briefly explained. Edward Hunter, who first brought back from China the story of Communist brainwashing and translated the Chinese term into English, defines dialectical materialism as follows:

"Dialectical materialism teaches that everything is material, hence only the present exists. Everything is considered to be in a state of perpetual flux. Everything is said to be composed of contradictions, which 'synthesize' in 'struggle,' each time producing something new. Communists call this 'historical development.' Study and discussion of it is referred to as dialectics. Only in dialectical material is the evolution of society said to be correctly explained. The 'Communist Line' is infallible and unchanging because it explains dialectical materialism. On this basis, the Communists say dialectical materialism is scientific, and the Communist conquest of the world is inevitable."

Mr. Hunter then comments:

"The normal reaction of any balanced mind to a philosophy of this sort would be to note at once the contradiction between the thesis that everything is in a state of flux, and there being an essentially unalterable Communist belief. When this is pointed out to a Red, he goes back to dialectical materialism for proof of it. No matter how one tries, the Communist will never leave the protection of this spiraling argument, each time quoting some other portion of dialectical materialism to confirm a point in dialectical materialism.

"This source contradicts itself enough times to provide him with proof on either side of any argument. Of course, this is no argument at all, it has nothing to do with logic. One either accepts it or not, as one accepts a dogma, by faith. The discussion keeps revolving, kept going by quotations from Marxism-Leninism, or some other weighty and circuitous Red tome that similarly evades the issue. This diversion and evasion are characteristic of Red logic, as well as being fundamental to Red strategy." (Counterattack, New York, March 3, 1961.)

Fascist. In the non-Communist world a supporter or an advocate of Fascism rose and flourished only in Italy and Germany and only because it offered or appeared to offer a solution to the Communist and other post-World War I problems besetting those two countries. Fascism never developed to any appreciable extent in Great Britain, France or any other west European country. There has never been a native fascist party in the United States with more than forty or fifty members and fascist ideology simply could not take root in our intellectual soil.

In the Communist dictionary "Fascism" is a secret trump card which the capitalists take from their sleeves when faced with a revolutionary crisis which fake bourgeois democracy cannot defeat. In other words a final death spasm of dying capitalism. The epithet "fascist" is usually reserved for knowledgeable anti-Communists who are considered too tough and too smart either to bamboozle or frighten away. It is also frequently linked with some other smear word to vilify opponents of Communism. Greece is often referred to as "monarcho-Fascist" while American Socialists and New Dealers were dubbed "social-fascists" in the early '30's. Roosevelt's C.C.C. camps were considered "near-fascist" or embryonic fascism. Hence, calling any American who has never advocated or defended fascism, a "fascist" can only mean that the person uttering such a slander is either a secret Communist or sympathizer and knows exactly why he uses the term, or he is an ignoramus employing a Communist smear word without knowing what the term implies.

Imperialism. Perhaps the single best example of what Communists have done with non-Communist definitions. In all non-Communist dictionaries "imperialism" meant a political system based on an empire usually with non-contiguous colonies. The extension of a colonial or imperialist system by conquest or other aggressive means.

In 1902 a British Fabian Socialist, J. A. Hobson, published a book "Imperialism" which had a profound effect on Lenin's thinking. Hobson's theory in brief was that mass production created more goods than the home market could absorb and that this surplus had to be dumped abroad in countries with underdeveloped industries. Additionally, surplus capital, for which there was little market at home, could be exported to underdeveloped lands with fabulous yields of profits. When influenced by or supported by the government this form of export of commodities and capital to other countries, Hobson argued, was a new form of "imperialism" wherein capital and finished goods instead of weapons and troops were used to "subjugate" a country.

Lenin improved on Hobson and argued that "imperialism" was a higher and last stage of capitalist evolution, and in 1915 produced a voluminous book on the subject. Lenin did not think much of America. He wrote:

"Wilson's glorified republic proved in practice to be a form of the most rabid imperialism, of the most shameless oppression and suppression of weak and small nationalities." . . .

"But now . . . there is no other alternative left: either the Soviet government triumphs in every advanced country in the world, or the most reactionary imperialism triumphs, the most savage imperialism which is out to throttle the small and feeble

nationalities and to reinstate reaction all over the world. This is the Anglo-American imperialism which has perfectly mastered the art of using for its purposes the form of a democratic republic.

“One or the other. There is no middle course.”

(Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. XXIII, page 292.)

Few people in the West seem to realize that “imperialism” is a Communist code word as a guide for Communist action when the epithet is applied to some particular country. Probably less than a thousand or two thousand non-Communists in the United States have ever read or even heard of “The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists.” This was one of the important resolutions handed down by the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1928. It was published in cheap pamphlet form by the Workers Library Publishers in New York in 1932 and sold in Communist book stores for a dime for a few years before it disappeared from the shelves. It may be found on page 251 of House Report No. 2242, the Communist Conspiracy, Part 1, Section C, published by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1956 and still on sale at the Government Printing Office in Washington, D. C.

The entire resolution of some 67 pages is a blue print for action and guiding set of orders for all Communists and fellow travellers whose own countries are fingered by Moscow as being “imperialist.” Fantastic as it may seem, the official policy of our government under several administrations has been unwittingly to carry out some of these anti-imperialist directives as far as the colonial systems of other countries including our allies is concerned. A contingency which even the Communists of 1928 certainly never anticipated.

Space limits prohibit quoting a virtually endless list of similar examples of Communist distortions of or entirely new meanings for standard and long accepted word definitions. In fact, two books have been published entirely devoted to this subject. See R. N. Carew Hunt's “A Guide to Communist Jargon” Macmillan, New York, 1957; and Harry Hodgkinson's “The Language of Communism,” Pitman Publishing Co., New York, 1955.

Recommended Reading

Language as a Communist Weapon	Possony, House Comm. Un-American Activities, 1959, G.P.O., Wash., D. C.
Communist Psychological Warfare	Hunter, H.C.U.A., 1959, G.P.O., Washington, D.C.
Dialectical Materialism	Wetter, Praeger, 1958
Double-Talk Dictionary	J. Edgar Hoover, FBI, Washington, D. C.

Lesson No. Five

1. Why do Communists employ a coded language of their own?
2. What do you understand to be the difference between the Communist and non-Communist definition of the word "imperialism"?
3. What does Khrushchev really mean by "peaceful coexistence"?
4. What is the difference between western capitalism as we understand it in western Europe and the United States and Soviet capitalism?
5. Is the U.S.S.R. at present a Communist state?
6. What is the difference between western democracy and so-called "Soviet democracy" or "peoples democracy."?
7. What do you understand the Communists to mean by dialectical materialism?
8. What do the Communists mean by "fascism"?

CHAPTER VI

COMMUNISTS VS. THE LAW

"It has long, however, been my opinion and I have never shrunk from expressing it . . . that the germ of the dissolution of our Federal government is in the constitution of the Federal judiciary. An irresponsible body (for impeachment is scarcely a scarecrow) working like gravity by night and by day, gaining a little today and a little tomorrow and advancing its noiseless step like a thief, over the field of jurisdiction until all shall be usurped from the states and the government of all be consolidated into one."

(Thomas Jefferson in a letter to Charles Hammond, 1821.)

June 17, 1957, has come to be known as Red Monday by both lawyers and anti-Communists. Dorothy Healey Connolly, a leading California Communist rejoiced by announcing "This is the greatest victory the Communist Party ever had." On that day Chief Justice Warren with Justices Frankfurter, Douglas, Black, Harlan, and Brennan handed down four decisions which in effect told the Communists "Go ahead boys, you have nothing to worry about." David Lawrence, publisher of **U. S. News and World Report** and an eminent journalist called the Supreme Court's four decisions "Treason's Greatest Victory."

In one day the Supreme Court emasculated the Smith Act by upholding the right of anyone to preach and advocate the overthrow of the government as long as such advocacy was limited to "an abstract principle." The "clear and present danger" principle which had previously guided the high court in its decisions involving Communist issues was now changed to "far away and unlikely."

In the now famous Watkins decision the Supreme Court ruled that Congressional Committees had to prove to witnesses that they were seeking legislative information before the witness need bother to answer questions. In another decision that same Red Monday the Supreme Court struck down the right of state legislatures to inquire into sedition and subversion within their own borders. A fourth decision narrowed down the power of the Federal government to discharge federal employees charged with disloyal activity. All of these decisions will be taken up later in detail.

The Constitution defines only one crime against the United States and limits the punishment for it — treason. "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on confession in open Court." (Art. III, Section 3)

The vacillation of Chief Justice Marshall between the Aaron Burr and Bollman cases in 1807 and the uncertainty shown by the Supreme Court in two other cases in 1945 and 1947 have left the law of treason in a "somewhat doubtful condition" (The Constitution, Analysis and Interpretation by the Library of Congress, 1953). No Communist, needless to add, has ever been convicted of treason although to a layman "adhering to an enemy of the United States" would certainly seem to cover Communists.

Although numerous states passed anti-sedition and criminal anarchy laws as far back as 1902 (New York Section 160 and 161 of the Penal Law) Communists enjoyed complete immunity as far as federal law was concerned for the first 21 years of their existence in this country. It was not until 1940, with World War II looming over the horizon and the deadly danger of Fifth Columns exposed in Europe, that Congress finally bestirred itself and added two laws, the Smith Act and the Voorhis Act, to the statutes.

The Voorhis Act, aimed at the Communist Party, became a dead letter almost as soon as it was enacted. It required the registration with the Attorney General of all subversive organizations, home-grown and foreign controlled. The legal net caught only seven small minnows — five dedicated to the overthrow of Hitler in Germany and two who frankly admitted they would like to overthrow the Stalin regime in Russia. The Communist Party simply went through the pro forma gestures of disaffiliating from the Communist International and hence was no longer "foreign controlled."

The Smith Act, at least for a time, proved to be a better rat trap, and after some ten years did manage to get a few top Communists into prison. Oddly enough, the first convicted subversives under the Smith Act were not Stalinist Communists but Trotskyites in Minneapolis during the war. The Department of Justice did not begin to move against Communists under the Smith Act until 1948. By this time sensational hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and grand jury investigations had uncovered mass production spying by Communists and the filching by Communist spies of unlimited amounts of this nation's top military and other secrets. Even the most closely guarded top secret atomic bomb projects had been penetrated by Soviet spies.

At the cost of several million dollars and years of trials, appeals, and Supreme Court hearings the government finally managed to convict 109 Communists. But of this number only 28 ever went to prison. All prosecutions under the Smith Act were abandoned after the June 17, 1957, Yates v. the United States decision. By a six to one majority the Supreme Court completely reversed a six to two decision by the same court in 1951 upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act. The two dissenters in 1951 had been Douglas and Black. Due to deaths and resignations, a minority of two in six years had become a majority of six if not seven.

Using legal hair-splitting, the like of which had never been written into any previous Supreme Court decisions, six men held that the Communists presented no "clear and present danger" unless they were actually engaged in physical violence and revolution to overthrow the government. Justice Clark

wrote a blistering lone dissent exposing the hollowness and obvious contradictions in the outrageous majority decision. Fourteen Communists were turned loose after having been convicted in lower courts and these convictions sustained in Appeals Courts. The **Daily Worker** exulted: that a Communist rally had been held "To pay honor to the U. S. Supreme Court and its recent decisions."

Yates v. the United States, while not the last of a long series of pro-Communist decisions, blasted away the last substantial legal bar to open Communist activity. This series began in 1956 with the notorious *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Steve Nelson* decision in which the Supreme Court upheld a Pennsylvania Supreme Court decision holding a Communist could not be tried under Pennsylvania state law, as only Federal law applied to subversion.

The Supreme Court decision freeing the odious Steve Nelson, a Communist goon in the Spanish Civil War and who also had been deeply implicated in espionage in this country, said in effect that when Congress passed the Smith Act in 1940 it "preempted or intended to occupy the field of sedition to the exclusion of state laws and jurisdiction. This, despite that fact that the Smith Act specifically spelled out a contrary intent. In other words, six men decided that they knew better than the 435 Congressmen and 96 Senators who passed the Smith Act in 1940. Counter-subversive laws on the statute books of 42 states were rendered null and void by this incredible decision.

The Attorneys General of 36 states filed a brief with the Supreme Court asking for a re-hearing of the Steve Nelson case. The Supreme Court refused to reconsider the case — **after the chief law officers of thirty-six states had so petitioned.**

On April 9, 1956, the Supreme Court handed down by a five to four majority a decision which made it virtually impossible for state and local governments to fire Communists or other subversives from jobs in tax-supported agencies. In *Slochower v. Board of Education of New York* (350 U. S. 551, 1956) the Supreme Court invoked a supposition that the Brooklyn college teacher probably did not realize that by invoking the Fifth Amendment before a Senate committee he was jeopardizing his job. Transcripts of his hearing made it crystal clear that, on the contrary, Slochower knew full well that the Board of Education under the New York City charter had the power to discharge teachers who took the Fifth Amendment.

Four justices dissented, pointing out that this decision made it virtually impossible for state or local governments to rid tax-supported schools and other institutions of communists or subversives. Slochower was reinstated with back pay and interest totalling around \$40,000. New charges were brought against him of misconduct and he finally resigned from the New York school system.

Communist Party v. Subversive Activities Control Board

On April 30, 1956, the Supreme Court returned to the task of tearing down section by section the entire and elaborately constructed bastion against Communist subversion. In the above captioned case the Supreme Court accepted the contention of the Communist Party that some of the testimony against it before the Subversive Activities Control Board was "tainted." The Federal Dis-

trict Court and Court of Appeals had found no merit whatever in the Communist claim of "clouded evidence." Because of the importance of this case and its effect on the government's effort to carry out the law a capsuled review seems in order.

In 1950 Congress enacted the Subversive Activities Control Act which created a Subversive Activities Control Board. The Attorney General of the United States was to present evidence before this Board that the Communist Party of the United States was in fact a Communist action organization as defined in the law. The Communist Party had full trial rights, including the cross examination of all witnesses, presentation of rebuttal witnesses and review and appeal in the courts. The SACB held unhurried hearings over a period of 18 months at considerable cost to the government. The transcript of testimony stacked up eight feet high.

There then followed the typical Communist stalling tactics or appeals, reviews, etc. The SACB handed down a Recommended Decision that the C. P. USA was in fact a Communist action organization and that its officers would have to register and comply with certain other requirements of the law. **It did not outlaw the Communist Party and it carried no bars or restrictions against ordinary members.**

Years passed as the case crawled through the lower courts and finally reached the august Supreme Court. It took its own sweet time in considering the case. It then evaded the whole question as to whether the Subversive Activities Control Act was constitutional or not or whether the SACB had any legal status. It accepted the Communist lawyers' phony argument that three of a string of some sixteen witnesses were of questionable probity and therefore their testimony likewise **might** be "tainted." It had taken the SACB seven years to get the case to the high court. Now it had to start all over again!

Three justices filed vigorous dissents pointing out that the court had evaded passing on the constitutionality of the Act. Justice Clark used particularly strong language when he wrote:

"I have not found any case in the history of the court where important constitutional issues have been avoided on such a pretext. . . . In this case the motion itself was wholly inadequate and even if the testimony of all three challenged witnesses were omitted from the record the result could not have been different. There is no reasonable basis on which we could say that the Court of Appeals has abused its discretion. I abhor the use of perjured testimony as much as anyone, but we must recognize that there never have been allegations of perjury, so flimsily supported, considered grounds for reopening a proceeding or granting a new trial. The Communist Party makes no claim that the government knowingly used false testimony, and it is far too realistic to contend that the Board's action will be any different on remand."

Justice Clark then went on to observe that this case had dragged on for many years, that the will of Congress was being thwarted "at a most critical time in history," and finally that the "only purpose for this procedural maneuver is to gain additional time before the order to register can become effective. "Five years after Justice Clark wrote his blistering dissent the Supreme Court on June 5, 1961, suddenly and mysteriously reversed itself.

By a bare majority of one, Justices Black, Brennan, Douglas, and Chief Justice Earl Warren dissenting, the high court upheld the lower courts that the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 was constitutional as far as compulsory registration of the Communist Party was concerned. In a long 112 page decision the court held that the Communist Party, USA, was a Communist action organization acting under the control, direction and discipline of the world communist movement. It refused to act on other questions such as denial of passports to Communists, stamping of "Communist propaganda" on all mailed matter, etc., also part of the Act. These, the court ruled, could be brought forward for adjudication later as the issues arose.

In another momentous decision on the same day the Supreme Court by the same narrow majority in effect reversed itself at least in part on its previous Yates decision. It sustained an important clause in the Smith Act of 1940, (U.S.C. Sect. 2385) making it a crime to knowingly and willfully advocate, abet, advise or teach the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing the government by force or violence.

By some rather curious reasoning it found Junius Irving Scales of North Carolina guilty but at the same time in another decision it reversed the conviction of John Francis Noto of Buffalo, New York. Scales left the Communist Party several years ago; Noto presumably is still a member. At least he has made no formal or public announcement of any such breakaway.

As law enforcement officers and anti-Communists were rejoicing over the SACB and Scales decisions, the Supreme Court one week later handed down two more decisions in favor of subversives. On June 12, 1961 by a five to four majority the high court reversed the contempt of Congress conviction of Bernard Deutch of Springfield, Pa. One justice, Potter Stewart, had switched sides and joined Warren, Black, Douglas, and Brennan in reversing the lower court conviction of the young nuclear physicist for refusing to answer certain questions involving Communist associations propounded to him by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Previously in other contempt cases Justice Stewart had voted with Justices Clark, Harlan, Frankfurter, and Whittaker in upholding convictions. This time he relied on the extremely narrow ground that the government had not proved that the questions asked Deutch were pertinent to the House committee's announced line of inquiry.

On the same day as the Deutch decision the Supreme Court decided unanimously that the state of New York could not bar the Communist Party from participation in the state's unemployment compensation system. New York had based its action on the 1954 Communist Control Act which had not previously been tested in the U. S. Supreme Court. New York's highest court, the Court of Appeals, had upheld the state ruling. The case, of course, was a minor one inasmuch as it only applied to such Communist Party employees who might later seek unemployment compensation.

The Communists were quick to point out that this decision "in effect, confirms that fact that our party is a legal organization under the Bill of Rights. . . .

It shows further the groundless, contradictory, and illegal character of the court's ruling one week ago in which it virtually outlawed the Communist Party by sustaining the infamous McCarran Act by a bare majority of 5 to 4."

Other Pro-Communist Decisions

Another Supreme Court decision in 1956 which blasted an enormous hole in our legal defenses against subversion was *Cole v. Young* on June 11 of that year. In this decision the high court arrogated to itself the administrative and security functions of deciding which federal government positions were "sensitive" and which were not from a national security standpoint. A Food and Drug inspector in New York named Kendrick M. Cole had been suspended on grounds of alleged subversive activities.

When confronted with the charges Cole refused to make any formal answer nor did he request a hearing, which he was entitled to receive under regulations. His employment was ordered terminated. Cole thereupon took his case to the courts contending that the Summary Suspension Act of 1954 applied only to classified or "sensitive" positions. Senator Mundt, who helped write the law, said that it had been the intent and purpose of Congress in writing the law to bar all Federal positions to Communists and other subversives.

Despite the clear intent of the law and numerous decisions which held that the government had the right to lay down certain conditions of suitability for government employment, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Cole and in effect ordered his reinstatement. Some 300 other security risks previously fired were restored to their jobs. Chairman Francis E. Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities declared:

"The U. S. Supreme Court's recent decision overturning the law under which Federal employes could be fired for alleged Communist activity has had the effect of opening the entire Government to the infiltration of our mortal enemies." (Philadelphia Inquirer, July 21, 1956.)

Three Supreme Court justices supported Mr. Walter in their dissenting opinion saying, "We believe the Court's order has stricken down the most effective weapon against subversive activity available to the government . . . it might leave the government honeycombed with subversive employees."

After a long summer recess the Supreme Court returned in the Fall to resume its demolition of more legal bulwarks against Communists and other subversives. Having freed the notorious Steve Nelson in the spring from the toils of Pennsylvania law, through the simple expedient of declaring all state counter-subversive laws null and void, the high court had one more favor to extend to this particularly odious Communist. Nelson and four other C.P. leaders were also under conviction of violating the Smith Act. The Supreme Court overturned the conviction by holding that one witness "may have lied." It said that it believed his testimony to be the truth in the Nelson case but that statements he had made before other tribunals were open to question and his credibility should be established by a new trial.

It might be observed that if a technicality were needed in order to render a decision favorable to the Communists, the majority of the Supreme Court could always be depended upon to find such a technicality no matter how slender and far-fetched it might be as in this case. Every time that a case involving Harry Bridges, the notorious Australian born Communist boss of San Francisco stevedores, reached the Supreme Court it managed to find some microscopic technicality by which the convictions of lower courts could be overthrown.

In 1955 *Emspak v. United States*, *Quinn v. United States*, and *Bart v. United States*, three separate and different cases reached the Supreme Court. Some six years before all three had been convicted for refusing to answer questions about Communist affiliations and activities before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Their convictions had all been upheld by Appeals Courts. In three separate decisions the Supreme Court made short work of these lower court convictions by reversing them all. The **Daily Worker** exulted once more that Communism had achieved another victory for its cause.

Ben Gold v. United States (Jan. 28, 1957)

In 1950 the well known Communist Ben Gold swore before the National Labor Relations Board that he was not a Communist and was in no way affiliated with it as part of a Taft-Hartley Act affidavit. He had merely "resigned" a day or so previously. Gold was indicted in 1953 and the government won its case against him. Convicted of perjury, Gold took his appeal to the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court had little trouble finding a microscopic flaw in the otherwise carefully prepared case. While Gold was on trial, the FBI innocently contacted three jurors seeking some information on an entirely unrelated case. The FBI did not know that the three interviewed people were jurors. The Supreme Court deemed this an "unwarranted intrusion into the privacy of the jury" and by a four to three majority ordered a new trial. The government threw up its hands in helpless disgust and announced it was dropping further prosecution of Gold.

The Communists found 1957 an extremely fruitful and happy year as far as their cases before the Supreme Court were concerned. In all, the high court heard eleven cases involving Communist issues — by majorities, some of only a single vote — it ruled 100% in favor of the Communists. In addition to the four cases already referred to on Red Monday the other seven were equally important as they all represented major breaches in this country's legal defenses against Communism. Space limitations prohibit detailed analysis of each case but the following thumbnail summaries are important to an understanding of just what the Supreme Court has done to destroy virtually every single law and administrative ruling aimed at some aspect of Communism.

Schwartz v. United States and Konigsberg v. United States

On May 6, 1957, the Supreme Court, in the two above decisions, made it practically impossible for state bar associations or sovereign states to keep

Communists from becoming members of the bar. The Board of Bar Examiners of the New Mexico State Bar had denied one Rudolph Schware the right to take the bar examination because he had admitted Communist Party membership for a period of at least eight years. He also had a police record and admitted the use of aliases. Several witnesses did testify to Schware's present good character at the time of his application.

The Supreme Court ruled that Schware had been denied due process under the 14th Amendment. Lawyers will find the reasoning in the decision a curious one. After conceding that it was beyond the court's function to act as overseer of the procedures established by the various states for admission to their respective bars and "that it is not our business to substitute our judgment for the State's judgment" it turned right around and ruled that New Mexico's Supreme Court erred in upholding the decisions of lower courts and the State Board of Bar Examiners in denying Schware admission to the New Mexico Bar.

The Konigsberg case was an even more blatant invasion of the rights of a sovereign state to conduct its own affairs. Konigsberg had attended Communist meetings in 1941. He stubbornly refused to answer any questions on Communist activities before the state bar examiners of California. He made evasive speeches and invoked the first amendment. His appeal was denied in the lower courts and by the California Supreme Court. The U. S. Supreme Court, by five to three, reversed them all on the same tenuous grounds as in the Schware case. All states were put on notice that they had better not try to prevent Communists from becoming members of the bar.

United States v. George Witkovich

Witkovich was a Yugoslav alien Communist ordered deported in 1953. Yugoslavia, in common with all Communist countries, refused to accept Witkovich. Remaining in this country Witkovich was under the law subject to the supervision of the Department of Justice. A 1952 law required aliens under deportation to report their activities periodically to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Witkovich continued to attend Communist meetings and refused to answer questions about his activities. A Federal District court quashed an indictment against him so the government appealed directly to the Supreme Court.

The government contended that if the lower court ruling was upheld that its efforts to control subversive aliens would be seriously hampered and further that our internal security would be jeopardized. There were some 3,000 similar cases awaiting deportation. The Supreme Court made short work of this objection. It ruled that "an alien awaiting deportation was not compelled to answer questions about Communist activities." Two dissenting justices argued that the Department of Justice was stripped of an important power necessary to protect our internal security by this incredible decision. What the majority decision said in effect was that while an alien could be deported for carrying on Communist activity he could not be stopped from such activity while awaiting deportation.

United States v. Mrs. Antonia Sentner

The Sentner decision, which followed the Witkovich case by three weeks, was pretty much of the same pattern except that it went even a little further to protect the "rights" of an alien Communist illegally in the country. Mrs. Sentner was ordered deported because she was in this country illegally and secondly, because she was a Communist. While awaiting deportation she was served with an order by the Attorney General of the United States to terminate membership in the Communist Party. A district Federal court criticized this "unwarranted intrusion into the private affairs" of Mrs. Sentner by the Immigration and Naturalization Service so the Department of Justice made the bad mistake of appealing directly to the Supreme Court.

Upholding the lower court, the Supreme Court ruled that the Justice Department "lacks authority to ban Communist activity by an alien who has been under a deportation order for six months." The United States is probably the only nation in the world which extends the fullest protection of the law to persons illegally in the country. Great Britain and all European countries take the common sense position that an alien illegally within their borders cannot invoke the protection of their laws to remain within the country. He is deported on sight and no loophole in the law can be used to prevent such deportation.

Sweezy v. New Hampshire

Paul M. Sweezy, a professor at the University of New Hampshire, had refused to answer all questions about his alleged association with known Communists when questioned by the Attorney General of that state. Sweezy denied he had ever been a C.P. member. He was specifically accused of teaching communist doctrine to his students. The Supreme Court of New Hampshire adjudged him to be in contempt.

By a six to two decision, only Clark and Burton dissenting, the United States Supreme Court reversed the New Hampshire high court. Frankfurter held that the states had no right to question the beliefs and associations of professors in state institutions of higher learning. Chief Justice Warren and three other justices thought that New Hampshire had gone about the matter in the wrong way when the state legislature empowered the Attorney General of New Hampshire as a one man committee to investigate Sweezy. This had caused "a deprivation of the constitutional rights" of Professor Sweezy. It apparently would have been alright for the legislature to do it by committee.

Kremen et al v. United States

From a legal standpoint this decision will go down in history as hitting an all time low, even for the Supreme Court, in microscopic atom-splitting to help Communists out of a tight spot. From 1951 to 1953 the FBI tied up hundreds of agents in a nationwide and costly search for several convicted, bail-jumping Communists. FBI men finally tracked down two of them, Robert Thompson and Sidney Steinberg, to an almost inaccessible cabin high in the Sierra Nevada mountains of California. With the two fugitive Communists were

found two other individuals who later were identified as Samuel Coleman and Shirley Kremen. The latter two were charged with harboring known fugitives.

A careful search was made of the cabin and after compiling an inventory, a number of documents and objects were removed to the nearest FBI office in San Francisco as evidence to be used at the trial. The Kremen woman and Coleman were subsequently indicted, tried, and convicted. Being good Communists they naturally had the means to appeal to the Supreme Court. The case against them seemed airtight but the Supreme Court had little trouble finding a flyspeck flaw in the lower court conviction. By a six to two majority the Supreme Court ordered a new trial on the following incredible grounds:

“The seizure of the entire contents of the house and its removal some 200 miles for the purpose of examination is beyond the sanction of any of our cases. While the evidence seized from the persons of the petitioners might have been legally admissible, the introduction against each of the petitioners of some items seized in the house in the manner aforesaid rendered the guilty verdicts illegal.”

Lawyers may want to read the entire decision in *Kremen et al v. United States*, U. S. Supreme Court, 354 U. S. 162, Oct. Term, 1956. Particularly interesting is the dissenting opinion which found that:

“Only a fragmentary part of the items listed by the Court as seized was admitted into evidence and if any items were illegally seized their effect should be governed by the rule of harmless error since there was ample evidence of guilt otherwise.”

Jencks v. United States

This decision, more than any other of a long series of similar Communist coddling and favoring decisions, aroused widespread alarm not only in Congress, but throughout the country. It was a major sapping operation designed to blow sky high an important sector of the country's legal defenses against subversion. Clinton E. Jencks was convicted in 1950 of falsely filing a non-Communist affidavit with the National Labor Relations Board. Jencks at the time was president of the Communist-ridden International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers of America. Jencks appealed his conviction to the Supreme Court, apparently secure in the knowledge that it would find a loophole somehow in his favor. It did.

Jencks' lawyers argued that they should be permitted to examine the confidential notes and reports which undercover FBI informants had turned in to the FBI. The Supreme Court immediately thought that this was a most meritorious idea and ordered a new trial at which the government would have to make available all confidential data which any witness in the case might have made. This naturally meant exposing the identity of extremely valuable and hard to replace undercover agents as well as exposing secret investigative practices and techniques — just what the Communists and Soviet agents in the country wanted and needed badly.

This fantastic decision stunned Congress. One Congressman observed that the “FBI might as well close up shop.” Representative Francis Walter observed:

"We might just as well expect a complete breakdown of our internal security." In a ringing and denunciatory dissent Justice Clark said that if confidential files were spread upon the open public record "criminals, foreign agents, subversives, and others" would have a "Roman holiday rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets." While some of the threat to internal security posed by this decision was later corrected by legislation it had other serious repercussions.

In January, 1958, the U. S. Court of Appeals in Washington reversed the findings of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the Communist Party, USA was a Communist action agency under the law and would have to register with the Attorney General. The court based its decision on the Jencks case because the Communist Party in this action had not been shown the FBI's secret reports on its activities.

Watkins v. United States (June 17, 1957)

The Watkins decision was probably the single most devastating attack by the Supreme Court on what was left standing of our anti-Communist defenses. Indeed, the court admitted as much when it wrote:

"We approach the questions presented with conscious awareness of the far-reaching ramifications that can follow from a decision of this nature."

Six justices: Black, Douglas, Frankfurter, Warren, Harlan, and Brennan set aside the conviction of John T. Watkins for contempt of Congress. Justice Clark was the lone dissenter in this truly far-reaching and critical case in America's war against subversion. This is the case which every lawyer and American layman seeking an answer to the question as to why we continue to lose the cold war right here at home should study and ponder carefully. It came within inches of ending all Congressional investigations into subversion.

Watkins was an official of the Communist dominated United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union which had been expelled from the CIO because of its obvious Communist domination. Called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities Committee Watkins admitted extensive Communist activities in the past but denied that he was ever a member of the C.P., USA. He flatly refused to identify alleged Communist associates. Watkins spurned the sanctity of the Fifth Amendment. In an obvious test case move he challenged the right of the committee to ask such questions and was cited for contempt of Congress.

Tried and convicted, Watkins took his case to the United States Supreme Court. On June 17, 1957, that court set aside his conviction on the grounds that Congress had no right to ask questions about Communist associations. The long, rambling and specious decision turned largely on the following point:

"In the decade following World War II there appeared a new kind of Congressional inquiry unknown in prior periods of history. Principally this was the result of various investigations into the threat of subversion of the United States Government, but other subjects of congressional interest also contributed to the changed scene. This

new phase of legislative inquiry involved broad intrusion into the lives and affairs of private citizens. It brought before the courts novel questions of the appropriate limits of congressional inquiry."

This is an incredibly ignorant and false statement. The historically established powers and limitations of Congressional investigatory committees has been the subject of numerous books, articles, and legal opinions. In 1954 the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress prepared for the Senate (Document No. 99) a 59 page study entitled "Congressional Power of Investigation." It contains an extensive bibliography of all sources on this subject which the Supreme Court apparently never studied nor even knew existed. This excellent study sets forth in great detail the entire history of congressional investigations since the founding of this government.

The Watkins decision that "a new kind of inquiry" arose only after World War II involving broad scale intrusion into the affairs and lives of private citizens and other "novel questions" is completely and totally false. The first congressional inquiry into subversion did not occur in the "decade following World War II" but in 1918 within a year of the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia, or roughly thirty years before the Supreme Court claims Congress first entered this field. This was the Senate Investigation under Senator Lee Overman into Bolshevik and German propaganda in the United States. The printed record required four large volumes totalling over 4,000 pages.

Between 1920 and 1930 there were three separate Senate investigations and one by the House of Representatives into Communist and pro-Soviet activities in this country. The House Committee under the Chairmanship of Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York ranged the country from Washington and New York to Los Angeles and its hearings and findings fill no less than twenty-two volumes. The Dies Committee was created by act of Congress in 1938 and this highly effective committee carried on an unrelenting investigation of Nazis, fascists, Communists and other subversives for several years before the Supreme Court claims this "new and novel" kind of congressional inquiry started.

The purpose of falsely claiming that Congress got into the field of subversion only in "the decade following World War II" was obviously to attribute the Watkins conviction and similar Communist cases to post World War II "hysteria" as a purely transitory and passing period of "witch-hunting" and "red-baiting."

It should be noted that Justice Hugo Black, who participated in the Watkins decision, was a Senator at one time who went all out to pillory American businessmen, and who stated that the investigatory power of Congress was the "most valuable of all, this power of the probe is one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the people to restrain the activities of powerful groups, who can defy any other power."

Felix Frankfurter, who also thought that Congress had no constitutional right to question Communists, wrote in a directly opposite vein when he was law professor at Harvard:

"The power of investigation should be left untrammelled, and the methods and forms of each investigation should be left to Congress and its committees, as each situation arises."

We have gone into some length and detail in summarizing these Supreme Court decisions as an answer to the frequently heard objection: "There are ample laws on the statute books to deal with Communists so we don't need any private, vigilante action." Or to the question, "Why doesn't the government do something about the Communists if the situation is as bad as you say it is?" There are plenty of laws on the books, only the Supreme Court by a long series of astounding decisions above enumerated has, to all practical purposes, nullified them and made them dead letters in the law.

The constitutional rights of the states to control their own subversive problems was struck down in the Nelson, Sweezy, and Slochower decisions. *Yates, et al v. United States* has to all intents and purposes rendered the Smith Act null and void without actually passing on the law itself. The control of subversive and deportable alien Communists has been struck down in the *Sentner* and *Witkovich* decisions. The government's long established and constitutional right to define certain standards of loyalty on the part of civil service, other employees, and officials was wiped out by *Service v. Dulles*, *Peters v. Hobby*, and *Cole v. Young*.

As we stand back and objectively survey this long string of incredible decisions involving Communist issues, the ineluctable conclusion is forced on one's mind that these were not frivolous or irresponsible decisions. Nor are they the products of bad judgment or regrettable errors. They can only be part of a deliberate and conscious plan to strike down all restrictions and inhibitions as far as Communists and subversives are concerned.

A handful of five to seven Supreme Court justices have set aside and declared null and void all the labor, all the study, and all the knowledge of literally several thousand judges, prosecutors, state legislators, government security and other officials, and 535 Senators and Representatives who enacted the various laws seeking to control and restrain internal subversion. The very audacity of this incredible assumption of sole and final knowledge and insight into a problem as complex as Communism, which threatens the very foundations of America, by five or six men, is both shocking and frightening.

We have set forth in briefest summary only fifteen Supreme Court decisions between 1956 and 1958 involving Communist or subversive questions. Actually the high court heard argument on some 71 such cases between October 1953 and the end of the spring term in 1958. On July 10, 1958, Senator Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, placed in the **Congressional Record** (pages 13341-44) a statistical compilation of these 71 cases and how each justice voted on them. The compilation starts with October 1953 when Chief Justice Earl Warren joined the court.

From 1943 to 1953, a period of ten years, the Supreme Court heard some 34 cases involving Communist and security questions. A majority of the court sustained the Communist position in 15 cases and against them 19 times. Earl

Warren joined the court in 1953 as Chief Justice. Within a period of four and a half years the Supreme Court deigned to hear no less than 39 cases of a Communist nature. Thirty of these decisions sustained the arguments of the Communist lawyers and only 9 decisions ruled against them.

Justice Hugo Black participated in all 71 cases and his pro-Red batting average was 1.00 — not once did this learned man hold against the enemies of this country. Justice William Douglas was slightly below Black's batting average. He voted pro-Communist or anti-security 66 times and anti-Communist, pro-security three times. The third member of the high court who served all through this period is Felix Frankfurter who sat on 72 cases. His record was 56 pro-Communist votes and 16 times against subversion. The Chief Justice was not far behind. Earl Warren, after hearing arguments in 39 cases, held for the Communist position thirty-six times and against the Communists only three times.

The problem posed by this unbelievable pro-Communist bias by the United States Supreme Court has baffled and worried Congress, already overburdened with a multitude of other urgent and vexing problems. In the final analysis, it can pass all the counter-subversive laws it desires only to see them struck down by Supreme Court decisions. The Constitution is still what the Supreme Court holds it to be as Chief Justice Hughes once observed in 1916.

Addressing the United States Senate on July 12, 1961, Senator John McClellan of Arkansas said:

"These and other cases made it appear to many lawyers in all parts of the country that the Court was giving judge-made protection to the Communist Party U. S. A. against the powers of the sovereign States and the obvious legislative intent of the Congress thus weighing the security of the United States far too lightly on the scales of justice.

"Protest against the trend of these decisions came from many quarters. The lawyers of the Nation were among the loudest protestants. The National Association of Attorneys General, the Association of Chief Justices, and the Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives of the American Bar Association were among the most influential voices heard in criticism. As a result of these protests, deep concern was felt and expressed by the public, and obviously, some members of the Court became disturbed."

For the benefit of those who may want to study the decisions referred to in this chapter the following list of reference sources is appended:

Bridges v. United States, 345 U. S. 979 (1953)
Bridges v. United States, 346 U. S. 209 (1953)
Quinn v. United States, 349 U. S. 155 (1955)
Emspak v. United States, 349 U. S. 190 (1955)
Bart v. United States, 349 U. S. 219 (1955)
Peters v. Hobby, 349 U. S. 331 (1955)
Pennsylvania v. Nelson, 350 U. S. 497 (1956)
Slochower v. Board of Education, 350 U. S. 551 (1956)
Communist Party USA v. SACB, 351 U. S. 115 (1956)
Cole v. Young, 351 U. S. 536 (1956)

Mesarosh v. United States, 352 U. S. 1 (1956)
Gold v. United States, 352 U. S. 985 (1957)
United States v. Witkovich, 353 U. S. 191 (1957)
Schware v. Board of Bar Examiners, New Mexico, 353 U. S. 232 (1957)
Konigsberg v. State Bar of California, 353 U. S. 252 (1957)
Jencks v. United States, 353 U. S. 657 (1957)
Yates et al v. United States, 354 U. S. 298 (1957)
Watkins v. United States, 354 U. S. 178 (1957)
Sweezy v. New Hampshire, 354 U. S. 234 (1957)

Recommended Reading

Congressional Power of Investigation	Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress Senate Document No. 99, Government Printing Office, Wash- ington, D. C. 1954
Nine Men Against America	Gordon, Devin Adair, 1958
Congressional Investigating Committees	Dimock, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press
Relief For America's Reds	J. B. Matthews, American Legion Magazine, Oct., 1957

Lesson No. Six

1. What Justices of the U. S. Supreme Court have consistently voted to strike down convictions of Communists upheld by lower Federal and State courts?
2. What is the Smith Act?
3. What was the Slochower case?
4. Identify the Subversive Activities Control Act. What is the function of the Subversive Activities Control Board?
5. How did the Supreme Court reverse itself on June 5, 1961?
6. What was the decision of the Supreme Court in regard to one Bernhard Deutch?
7. As a result of what decision of the Supreme Court were 300 security risks restored to their government jobs?
8. What was the far reaching result of the Supreme Court's decision in the Steve Nelson case?
9. On what technicality did the Supreme Court throw out the conviction of Ben Gold?
10. How did the Supreme Court ruling in the Konigsberg case affect State bar requirements?
11. What strange ruling did the Supreme Court make in the Witkovich case involving aliens?
12. In what case did the Supreme Court decide that a state had no right to question the beliefs and associations of professors in state institutions of higher learning?
13. Who was Clinton E. Jencks and what did the Supreme Court decide in regard to him?
14. What is said in the text to be "the single most devastating attack by the Supreme Court on what was left standing of our anti-communist defenses?" Describe the case and decision.
15. What Supreme Court Justice has a "batting average" of 1000, on the side of the Reds in 71 cases heard by the Court?

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNISTS IN THE GOVERNMENT

There is very little evidence of any significant Communist infiltration into federal government agencies prior to 1934. The last years of the Hoover Administration saw few new agencies or substantial addition of new employees to the Federal payroll. The New Deal alphabetical agencies proliferated like mushrooms after an April rain bringing to Washington thousands of new officials and workers about whose backgrounds and ideological orientation no one cared very much. There was a depression to lick and finding jobs for millions of unemployed naturally took precedence over all other problems. The croakings of a few "reactionaries" that some particular individual was or might be a Communist were swept away in the gale of liberalism sweeping the nation's capital. To the liberals of that era the question as to whether a man or woman was a Communist was highly immaterial and irrelevant. Martin Dies, first Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities has stated that President Roosevelt in 1939 told him, "There is nothing wrong with the Communists, some of my best friends are Communists."

Part of the liberal indifference to charges and whispers about "Communists" was that many of them had themselves been called "Communists" or "parlor pinks" in the past by people whom they considered "reactionaries." The rise of Hitler in Europe and the gathering storm clouds of fascism also tended to drive the liberals and Communists together. Indeed, the Communists talked like liberals, having dropped their revolutionary slogans and tactics by 1932.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration of the Department of Agriculture appears to have been, at least as far as information in the public domain goes, the first major concentration point of Communist infiltration. There were about 135 legal assistants in the "Triple A," as it came to be known. Working on milk-marketing agreements and drafting regulations and opinions was an unknown young lawyer not long out of Harvard by the name of Alger Hiss. Also working in A.A.A. at the time were Lee Pressman, Adlai Stevenson, Telford Taylor, John Abt, and Charles Krivitzky (later known as Charles Kramer). Pressman later testified that he, Abt, and Kramer had been Communists. Several of the other early A.A.A. lawyers were later implicated in Soviet spying activities in this country.

Scattered through other agencies, most of them in key policy-making spots, were about seventy-five individuals who were later exposed either as secret Communists or Soviet agents. Harold Ware, a son of Communist "Mother" Reeve Bloor, and a Soviet agent who went by the name of J. Peters and who sported half a

dozen other aliases, decided that such valuable espionage and policy-influencing material should not be concentrated in one large group or in just a few government agencies.

According to Whittaker Chambers "career Communists" were therefore moved out of New Deal agencies "which the party could penetrate almost at will, and their gradual infiltration of the old-line departments, with the State Department as the first objective" was consummated in 1934. At the same time that he was sub-dividing a rapidly growing group of secret Communists into smaller sub-cells, Peters set up the first espionage cell inside the U. S. government in 1934. This was the infamous "Ware cell" which for a while met in a violin studio on Connecticut Avenue near Dupont Circle in Washington, D. C. In the daytime Ware's sister taught music to children of upper class families; at night the studio sheltered a nest of Soviet spies.

Later the group met at the house of John Abt — "an ideal arrangement," Chambers wryly observes in **Witness** because "At that time Abt was not only head of the Group but a special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States." By 1937 it would have been almost impossible to have named a single government agency or minor bureau which did not have one or more secret Communists in it.

In October, 1941, Chairman Martin Dies of the Special House Committee on Un-American Activities sent a list of 1124 government employees who were "Communists or affiliates of subversive organizations" to U. S. Attorney General Francis Biddle for his attention and possible action. Mr. Biddle returned the list with a letter that: "After a careful investigation by the departments, aided by the Interdepartmental Committee, which had been set up to coordinate investigations, two of the 1121 were dismissed by the respective heads of their departments and disciplinary action was taken against one other." Biddle also reported to Congress that "the sweeping charges of disloyalty in the federal service have not been substantiated." (Dies and Dr. Matthews counted 1124 names; Biddle says there were only 1121 in his book, "Fear of Freedom" 1952.)

In a magazine article in 1954 Dr. Matthews points out that Attorney General Biddle and all his "Interdepartmental Committees" missed the names of Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Harold Glasser, and Harry Dexter White. The Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White espionage revelations when they broke a few years later rocked the country. President Truman promoted White to a much more important job with the International Monetary Fund after no less than seven F.B.I. reports branding White a Russian spy had been sent to the White House for Truman's attention between 1945 and 1946. At first Truman maintained he had no recollection of ever seeing any of these reports. Later he changed his tune to an allegation that he had promoted White to the International Monetary Fund so that the F.B.I. could keep a better watch on him.

This forced F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover to take the stand before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee in 1953 and in effect state that Mr. Truman was not telling the truth because the F.B.I. had never made any such agreement or request with respect to Harry Dexter White. (See *Interlocking Subversion in Government*, Part 16, pages 1142-54, Nov. 17, 1953.)

Attorney General Biddle devotes considerable space in his book, "Fear of Freedom" to an attempt to disparage the House Committee's list of 1124 subversives in the government. Anti-Communists with a knowledge of the background and records of the "authorities" whom Francis Biddle quotes as helping him prepare the book will get a real good laugh out of a former Attorney General of the United States listing Zechariah Chafee, Robert K. Carr, Stuart Chase, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Abe Fortas and Thurman Arnold as experts on combating Communism.

Biddle even had the fantastic gall to quote Jerome Davis, whom he called an "educator and sociologist," on the Fish Committee. Jerome Davis, who was kicked out of office in the American Federation of Teachers because of his long pro-Soviet, pro-Communist record, has been identified in numerous pages of Government hearings as one of the top Communist Front joiners in the United States. Davis, according to Biddle, had decided that the Fish Committee of 1930 investigating Communism had been "far more dangerous to liberty and freedom than the pitiful handful of Communists in the United States ever has been."

Biddle's "Fear of Freedom" makes an excellent clinical case study for anti-Communists interested in the curious and twisted convolutions of the pseudo-liberal mind attempting to defend its indefensible position on Communism.

At this point it seems appropriate to mention briefly the tragedy of Dr. William A. Wirt, the man who tried to warn America of this Communist infiltration into the government and who was hounded to his early death by a gigantic mobilization of left-liberal character assassins and servile Congressional leaders. Millions of Americans have never heard of Dr. Wirt, a latter day American Dreyfuss and first victim of the New Deal character assassination corps. Dr. Wirt, with some forty years experience in education, was a nationally known figure as father of the Gary method of education.

In September, 1933, he attended a small dinner at the home of a Miss Alice Barrows, a minor official in the U. S. Office of Education. Also present was Laurence Todd, head of the Soviet news agency Tass. Wirt later quoted one of the guests as having boasted:

"We believe we have Roosevelt in the middle of a swift stream and the current is so strong that he cannot turn back or escape from it. We believe that we can keep Mr. Roosevelt there until we are ready to supplant him with a Stalin. We think Mr. Roosevelt is only the Kerensky of the revolution."

Alexander Kerensky was the weak-kneed Socialist minister of war in Russia's provisional government during the summer of 1917. He welcomed back Lenin's Communists, refused to proceed against them when they tried an abortive seizure of power in July, and was swept from the stage of history that November when the Bolsheviks seized power and chased him out of Russia.

Late in March, 1934, Dr. Wirt's report on the dinner conversation leaked out and hit Washington like a bomb. Roosevelt lost no time in moving against Dr. Wirt. A special Select Committee of the House of Representatives was hastily convened and its first public hearing held on April 10, 1934. With three loyal Democrats and two Republicans the majority had a Roman holiday with

Dr. Wirt when he appeared to testify. By a majority vote of one the Democrats refused Dr. Wirt the right to read a brief statement, denied him the right of facing or questioning those who had brought false charges against him, and even excluded his counsel, the eminent ex-Senator James Reed of Missouri. Shades of McCarthy and all other patriotic legislators who have been accused of "brow-beating" and mistreating witnesses!

Not only did the liberal press keep silent over the shameful treatment meted out to an American patriot but it led the pack in howling for his blood. The caucus room of the House of Representatives was packed with hundreds of newsmen and press photographers. A foul "reactionary" was going to be fed to the lions. One of the Democratic members of the infamous Bulwinkle Select Committee was John J. O'Connor of New York. Six years after the purging of Dr. Wirt and two years after his death, Mr. O'Connor made a remarkable confession and atonement for his role in the hounding of Dr. Wirt, in order to "relieve my conscience of a matter which has long burdened it."

Mr. O'Connor wrote:

"The pack got the smell of blood and tracked down the prey! A great job was done!

"Little did we know that most of the happenings which Dr. Wirt said the plotters had predicted would come to pass. Most of them came true even before Dr. Wirt's untimely and regrettable death.

"Or, maybe, in our hearts we knew the plot was not idle gossip and we lunged at the discloser to appease our consciences.

"Many times, privately have I apologized for my part in turning the thumb-screw, and I take this occasion to do so publicly.

"May Dr. Wirt's honest, patriotic soul rest in peace. His voice was 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness.'"

The Nation and **New Republic**, the latter a vociferous radical sheet, naturally led the wolfpack after Dr. Wirt's blood. Not far behind was the **New York Times** which on April 12, 1934, published on its front page a slander that Dr. Wirt had been jailed during World War I as a pro-German. The lie had first been coined by Chairman Bulwinkle behind the safety of Congressional immunity. When Bulwinkle retracted his slander the august **N. Y. Times** buried the story on page twelve. **Time** magazine, which according to Whittaker Chambers had a large secret Communist cell in its editorial department when he was a senior editor, also joined the hate chorus of abuse and vilification of a noted educator who had merely reported a subversive conversation he had heard at a private dinner party.

Twenty years after her famous dinner party, Mrs. Alice P. Barrows was called before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee investigating Communist infiltration in the government. She invoked the Fifth Amendment several times in reply to questions on membership in the Communist Party, whether she had ever recruited anyone into the Communist Party and who was present at her famous dinner September 1, 1933. She denied having ever signed up any teachers as Communist recruits.

Dr. Wirt departed from the nation's capital a bewildered, broken, and tragic figure. He never fully recovered from his terrible experience and died a few years later.

Less well known and even more outrageous was the "breaking" of Admiral Stanford C. Hooper, "Father of Modern Naval Communications." In the Middle Ages a favorite torture was "breaking on the wheel." The victim was lashed to a large wheel spread-eagle fashion and his bones then smashed with a heavy sledge-hammer. The Be-Kind-To-Communists Washington Clique practiced pretty much the same execution method for its victims but instead of breaking their bones physically, they used left-liberal newsmen and commentators to slander and destroy a man's honor, reputation, and integrity.

Just prior to Pearl Harbor Admiral Stanford C. Hooper had appeared before Congressional committees seeking legislation which would keep Communist radio operators off American registry ships in time of war or national emergency. The potential danger of having radio officers of doubtful loyalty at the communications centers of American shipping need scarcely be explained. They could very easily miss, distort, garble, or send out a message which could mean the loss of not only their own ships but all the others in a convoy.

At the Navy Department's urgent request Congress passed Public Law No. 351 which empowered the Secretary of the Navy, for the period of the war or national emergency, to bar from American ships any radio operators who, in his judgment, might present a threat to our national security. Elaborate procedures were set up for hearings and appeals for the protection of such disqualified radio operators. No disabilities were entailed. Indeed, they could go to sea in some other capacity and they were unrestricted as to any work they might seek ashore. Under the law the Navy Department removed some 120 or more radio officers with Nazi, Japanese, or Fascist backgrounds, plus a few with records of malicious sabotage or violence.

Early in 1942, a few Communist operators, who had been detected either at espionage or some other highly questionable activity, were likewise barred from their ships. All fury broke loose. There were immediate direct personal phone calls to the White House from certain Communist figures in New York. Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox was summoned to the White House where President Roosevelt, in no uncertain terms, told him that Communists who had been fired from navy yards and operators who had been barred from their ships were to be re-instated forthwith! — with back pay!

The whole incredible story may be found in Hamilton Long's pamphlet "America's Tragedy — Today," and in the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's hearings on Interlocking Subversion, part 18, 1954.

On May 19, 1942, a number of top naval officers and their subordinates, charged with carrying out Public Law No. 351, were summoned to Secretary Knox's office. In forceful terms the former Republican candidate for the presidency told them that the "Commander-in-chief" had bawled him out for allowing the Navy to "jeopardize our relations with Russia" and, in effect, meddling with affairs of state by arbitrarily removing Communist radio officers from their

ships. The President felt that as long as the Soviets continued to fight the Nazis there was little danger that American Communists might engage in any sabotage or other activity inimical to the war effort. He ordered the Communist radio operators restored to their ships.

Knox sternly lectured the assembled officers that this was an order from the President and that as long as he was Secretary of the Navy he would see that his orders were carried out "without any mental reservation or evasion." Admiral Hooper raised the logical question as to what would happen if Russia fell out of the war or signed a Vichy-type peace pact with Hitler, releasing American Communists from their primary loyalty to the Soviet Union. Knox snapped back that they would cross that bridge when they got to it — in the meantime the Navy was to restore all Communist operators to their ships and re-instate with back pay all Communists who had been fired out of Navy yards. **That was an order!**

Shortly thereafter Admiral Hooper was relieved of his duties and assigned to a minor job in radio materiel in New York. Reports had it that Roosevelt had personally ordered him banned from Washington for the duration of the war. He was retired for physical disability shortly afterwards with his long and brilliant career thoroughly besmirched and tarnished. Communists in maritime circles openly boasted that they had gotten the White House to fire two "reactionary admirals out of Washington." Other Navy officers naturally took the hint and stayed severely away from any action involving Communists. A number of them, to their eternal disgrace, also stayed away from Admiral Hooper who came to Washington several times after the war in futile attempts to rehabilitate his good name and honor. The Roosevelt curse was still on him at the time of his death about ten years ago and long after FDR had himself gone on to his reward.

All the collected information on Communist infiltration in the government is now so voluminous that even the briefest digest or general summary would assume almost book length. The shameful story of espionage on behalf of Soviet Russia by several score secret Communists in the government has been amply documented in both official Congressional reports and hearings as well as numerous books and pamphlets by competent writers and anti-Communist experts including important defectors from both the American Communist Party and underground Soviet spy rings in this country. The more important titles may be found in the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

Examination of this mountain of evidence shows that mere numbers bear no relationship to the amount of injury which secret Communists can wreak against the government they penetrate. One or two highly placed officials in the Treasury Department formulated monetary policies for China, then in desperate straits and fighting a two-front war against both the Japanese and their own Communists which led directly and swiftly to the economic collapse of that faithful ally. The same men, or another handful, drew up the basic Morgenthau plan for Carthaginian destruction of post-war Germany, which would have laid open all of Europe to swift Sovietization had it not been headed off by Congress and destroyed before it could be implemented as official U. S. policy. Numerous similar

examples of policy distortion or "mistakes" made by honest people could be cited, that of destroying Batista and promoting Castro being but the latest in a long chain of similar "errors of judgment."

Whittaker Chambers in WITNESS, undoubtedly the most significant and important book ever written on Communism, summed up the far-reaching and terrible consequences which stemmed from covert policy-manipulation by a few secret Communists in key positions in the government:

"It is certain that, between the years 1930 and 1948, a group of almost unknown men and women, Communists or close fellow travelers, or their dupes, working in the United States government, or in some singular unofficial relationship to it, or working in the press, affected the future of every American now alive, and indirectly the fate of every man now going into uniform. Their names, with half a dozen exceptions, still mean little or nothing to the mass of Americans. But their activities, if only in promoting the triumph of Communism in China, have decisively changed the history of Asia, of the United States, and therefore, of the world.

"If mankind is about to suffer one of its decisive transformations, if it is about to close its 2000-year-old experience of Christian civilization, and enter upon another wholly new and diametrically different, then that group may claim a part in history such as is seldom given any men to play, particularly so few and such obscure men." (Witness, page 331.)

In April of 1954 the Communist Party in the U. S. A. unveiled its blueprint for the destruction of the United States. It printed and distributed over one million copies of a plan entitled "THE AMERICAN WAY To Jobs . Peace . Democracy," a more diabolical plot never devised.

It should be noted that the Communists did not identify this program as the "Communist Way," but rather as the "American Way." The words "Communist" or "Communist Party" do not appear on the cover of this 24-page booklet. However, inside the cover the plan is readily identified as the "Draft Program of the Communist Party."

Here is the "front" or disguise scheme in operation, the major tool of the Reds within the United States, according to the FBI and Congressional Investigative committees.

The shocking part about the whole Draft Program is the open praise of the New Deal Program of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the call for a return to it so as to advance the aims of the Communists in the United States.

Here are several key quotations from this Communist document:

"The attack upon democratic liberties these past years has been an integral part of the preparations of Wall Street for its war for world domination. It was designed to divide the country, to break up the popular majority that stood for President Roosevelt's policy of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union."

"A return to President Roosevelt's policy of big power negotiation and agreement. This must include People's China, the established and effective government of the great Chinese nation."

"The answer to our present national plight is not a switch-back to another Truman-type Administration. The Truman Administration, by departing from Roose-

velt's foreign and domestic policies, only paved the way for the Republicans to grab political power and for McCarthyism to ride roughshod over the nation. What is needed is a new Administration which starts to build again where the New Deal left off."

("The American Way to . Jobs . Peace . Democracy," pages 9, 12, 18.)

Recommended Reading

100 Things You Should Know About Communism (Communism in the Government) House Comm. on Un-American Activities, 1951. Government Printing Office.

Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments, Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, 1953, Government Printing Office. 20¢.

Investigation of Communist Infiltration of Government, House Comm. on Un-American Activities, Government Printing Office.

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The Shameful Years, House Comm. Un-American Activities, 1951, Government Printing Office, 25¢.

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Hearings Regarding Communism in the U. S. Government, HCUA, 1950.

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Red Herring and Whitewash, Republican National Committee, Washington, D. C., 1950 (pamphlet).

Communism in Government, Minority Policy Committee, U. S. Senate, 1952.

Communists Within the Government, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D. C. 50¢.

America's Tragedy Today, Hamilton Long, 1950, Post Printing Co., 18 Beekman Street, New York. \$1.

McCarthyism — The Fight for America, Senator Joseph McCarthy, 1952, Devin-Adair Co., New York. \$1.

Books — In Relative Order of Importance

Witness

Whittaker Chambers, Random House, 1952

Web of Subversion

James Burnham, John Day, 1954

The China Story

Freda Utley, Regnery & Co., 1951

The Enemy At His Back

Elizabeth C. Brown, Bookmailer, N. Y., 1956

America's Retreat From Victory
For the Skeptic
Inside the State Department

While They Fought
The Lattimore Story
Seeds of Treason

Communism in American Politics

Out of Bondage
The Battle Against Disloyalty
The Red Plot Against America

The Trojan Horse in America
The Red Rat Race

Jos. McCarthy, Devin-Adair, N. Y.
Lyle Munson, Bookmailer
Bryton Barron, Comet Press, N. Y.,
1956

Helen Lombard, Scribners, N. Y., 1947
John T. Flynn, Devin-Adair, 1953
Lasky & DeToledano, Funk & Wag-
nalls, 1950

Saposs, Public Affairs Press, Washing-
ton, D. C., 1960

Elizabeth Bentley, Devin-Adair
Weyl, Crowell, 1951

Stripling & Considine, Bell Publishing
Co., 1949

Martin Dies, Dodd Mead & Co.

Morris Bealle, Columbia Publishing
Co., Washington, D. C., 1953

Lesson No. Seven

1. During which years did the greatest infiltration of Communists into the government occur?
2. Were liberals and New Dealers, even those professing to be anti-Communists, effective in preventing such infiltration?
3. In which government agency was the first known cell of secret Communists first set up?
4. Who was Dr. Wirt and what happened to him?
5. Read Witness by Whittaker Chambers and write a 250 word essay on what you learned and what impressed you most in this book.
6. The State Department was remarkably successful in barring Communists from penetrating that agency. True or false?

CHAPTER VIII

COMMUNISM IN LABOR

Since the rise of radicalism in the labor movement a hundred or more years ago, syndicalists, Anarchists, and various branches of the Socialist movement have sought either to capture outright or to swing to their ideological position such labor unions as they could penetrate. Before World War I, the I.W.W., Socialist Labor Party of Daniel DeLeon, and the Socialist Party all made some inroads into at least a few trade unions. Socialist influence was strong in the Brewery and Bakers Union, the International Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Furworkers Union, Metal Miners, and International Association of Machinists. Samuel Gompers, moderate leader of the American Federation of Labor spent most of his life fighting Socialist inroads.

However, it remained for the Communists in the early '20's to make the first serious threat of capturing small segments of the labor movement. Lenin had written that "The Bolshevik Revolution could not have lasted two weeks without the aid of the unions." Lozovsky, first secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern) in an address in 1920 said:

"The unions and the shop committees furnished and formed the framework of the workers' columns which made the November Revolution. The revolution would have been impossible in Russia if even before the month of October, 1917, the Bolsheviks did not have the majority in all the unions, for it is impossible to accomplish a social revolution outside of the unions or against their will."

As early as 1920 when the Communist Party had not even emerged above ground, Communists had already set up the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) under William Z. Foster. The TUEL was designed to work inside the labor movement to swing policies sharply to the left wherever possible. In July, 1921, the Communist International meeting in Moscow decreed the famous "boring-from-within" tactic for Communist work in American unions. The first target selected was the militant Industrial Workers of the World. The I.W.W. was to be penetrated and "its machinery blown up from within" to remove it as a dangerous rival.

While very little machinery was blown up by the Communists they did succeed in weakening and largely destroying the I.W.W. by mass desertions of leaders and members going over to the Communist infiltrators. By 1925 John L. Lewis was waging a bloody war against the Communists seeking to infiltrate his United Mine Workers of America. In New York the Stalinists had captured the Joint Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers by 1926. They also

had infiltrated the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union to such an extent that they precipitated needless and costly strikes in order to discredit the non-Communist leadership. Communists looted the I.L.G.W.U. treasury of an estimated two million dollars during several protracted strikes. It took a terrific internal battle to dislodge the Stalinists from the I.L.G.W.U. The Communists also captured the Fur Workers Union at this time and their grip on that trade has never been broken during the past 35 years.

In 1928 the party "line" on American unions was changed again on orders from Communist International. The Trade Union Education League was theoretically scrapped and the Trade Union Unity League emerged to carry on the new line. This was one of so-called dual unionism. The Communists set up competing unions, many of them on paper, to practically all the internationals then in existence, inside and outside of the American Federation of Labor. Most of them were readily identifiable by the word "Industrial" in their titles: Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, Auto Workers Industrial Union, Clothing Workers Industrial Union, Food Workers Industrial Union, Marine Workers Industrial Union, Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, etc., etc.

William Z. Foster writing in 1937 admitted that:

"In the earlier stages of its work, the TUUL developed a number of sectarian weaknesses which injured its general efficiency. The first was a tendency . . . to develop its union programs upon a too advanced revolutionary basis and to identify the organization too closely with the Communist Party. This, of course, had the effect of checking the growth of the organizations by making difficult its contacts with the conservative workers and by narrowing down the TUUL united front with the left Progressives. . ."

The beginning of the great depression in 1929 gave the Communists the long awaited opportunity of directly reaching masses of unemployed and embittered workers facing reduced wages and part time work. While conservative union leaders advised caution in calling strikes and tried to conserve dwindling union treasuries, the Communists urged greater militancy in both strike action and on the job demonstrations of union solidarity. Defying cautious and timorous leadership the Communists called strikes in merchant shipping, automobile production, mining, textiles, and agriculture.

When the total number of unemployed reached the staggering figure of ten million in 1930, the Communists hastily organized unemployed councils which demanded greater relief payments and "made" work. Party headquarters in all cities were thrown open to the workless, they were permitted to sleep on the floors, and communist girls scurried about with hot coffee and sandwiches. Manifestos and slogans all emphasized the same Communist theme: "WORKERS DON'T STARVE! FIGHT!" In Moscow Stalin announced that the hour of decisive revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and capitalism was close at hand in the United States.

Gitlow in the *WHOLE OF THEIR LIVES* describes this Communist mobilization of the unemployed in the early Thirties as being made up of:

"A motley crew of poorly dressed, haggard looking, yet fierce and determined fighters. They swooped down out of nowhere on state capitols, city halls, court rooms

and welfare agencies demanding relief. They carried placards with flaming slogans, shouted diatribes against the capitalists and the government and were spurred on by cheer leaders.

"These demonstrations were not spontaneous or accidental. Every one of them was carefully planned. The Communists knew exactly what they were after. Official Comintern instructions stated: 'These demonstrations should not make for the traditional meeting place but for such places as government buildings, parliaments, town halls, barracks. . . .'"

Gitlow, a founder of the C.P.U.S.A, and a leading Communist until Stalin purged him in 1929 is one of our best authorities on the subject.

Moscow laid down the orders to the smallest detail for these American demonstrations. "They must have a revolutionary and proletarian aspect, they must be effective." Workers and farmers were to go direct in their working clothes from factories and farms to invade city halls or state capitol buildings. War cripples and others with pathetic appearances were to lead the van to blunt and avert any possible "police brutality."

A Workers Defense Corps of the United States, composed of strong arm goons, was secretly organized into a para-military organization. They were given specialized training in how best to fight the police by seizing their clubs and blackjacks and turning their own weapons against them. Women and girls were shown how to jab a hatpin into the rumps of police horses and start a wild melee. Women and children were taught how to simulate hysteria and frenzied screaming while pre-selected individuals fell in a faint before police charges. Scenes of wildest mob frenzy were then broadcast over the land by secret Communist sympathizers in the press and radio, even as today, in order to arouse the liberals, ministers, and other good folk.

If by some stroke of good luck a demonstrator was killed by a stray bullet or heart attack, the Communists were elated. There would then be a mile long solemn funeral procession for the glorious martyr of "police brutality" and nationwide demands for an investigation to end police "terror," and the ouster of officials responsible. All of these methods of arousing and pitting frenzied mobs against the authorities were direct Communist importations from Europe where they had been successfully tried out and developed for several generations. They shook America and helped concentrate national attention on the gnawing problem of mass unemployment.

On March 6, 1930, the Communists made history when they were able to mobilize close to 100,000 demonstrators around Union Square, New York. The plan was to march on City Hall where three top Communists were to present the demands of the unemployed to the Mayor. The Defense Corps was soon in action against the police, fighting all over City Hall Square and nearby streets. It was the greatest riot New York had ever witnessed. American Communists, whom their Moscow bosses had always held in suspicion as being softies and no true revolutionaries, had proved their mettle. They had also convinced millions of the unemployed that the Communists were the only ones who would go into the streets and fight for them. The next few years saw a tremendous upsurge in Communist Party recruitment.

Stalin, who for years had regarded American Communists with undisguised contempt, ordered the Comintern to set aside \$100,000 to finance a hunger march on Washington. Hunger marchers had seized the City Hall in St. Louis. In Los Angeles ten thousand hunger marchers under Communist control battled the police for hours. Seven state governors who met in Albany, New York, to discuss unemployment in their several states were besieged by a howling mob of hunger demonstrators. All were trial runs and rehearsals for the "Great Hunger March on Washington" to come.

Stalin's \$100,000 to finance a hunger march on Washington did not go far. Transporting ten thousand hunger "marchers" in hired trucks and buses from as far west as St. Louis, feeding them, and other expenses cost the Communist Party over \$200,000. The Communists displayed a high order of organizational talent in mobilizing and herding to Washington such a large number of completely undisciplined and bewildered people, many of them really hungry and without means. A week before the main body of marchers was scheduled to arrive in Washington a small advance party dominated by Communists arrived in the nation's capital to get the lay of the land and also to present an advance petition to President Herbert Hoover. Hoover refused to receive the delegation. When they attempted to picket the White House they were promptly arrested.

When the main body of the "Hunger Marchers" reached Washington they paraded through the streets chanting "Hunger Hoover" over and over by the hour. They also cursed and booed William Green, President of the A.F.L. as a "fascist." This really rocked the mild-manner Baptist deacon from Coshoc-ton, Ohio. Contrary to the Communists' high hopes and careful plans, all went off peacefully. No skulls were cracked; no blood was shed.

The Comintern Representative, who was secreted in the Washington Hotel on the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Fifteenth Street in a sort of secret command post, turned livid with rage. The Kremlin had spent \$100,000, ground out of the sweat and suffering of half-starved Soviet workers, in order to bring about a gigantic riot in the capital of American bourgeois-capitalism and all he had to show Stalin for this expenditure were a few thousand dejected looking people shuffling around the streets yelling "Hunger Hoover."

The enraged C.I. Rep summoned the Communist leaders to his room. He denounced them in bitter and vile language as being yellow cowards and having swindled the Comintern out of \$100,000. Thoroughly abashed and terrified, the stuttering Communists promised they would do better the next time. Some had flown down by plane in order to make the Hunger March; they returned to New York by chaircar in the Pullman section of the train.

A few months after the Washington fiasco the Communists made good on their promise to do a better job "the next time." In March, 1931, Detroit Communists organized a hunger march on the Ford Plant. The line of marchers stretched for over a mile. Ford Plant police met the demonstrators with a solid phalanx before the gates. Pipe lengths and bricks were the main weapons of the hunger marchers. As the plant police fell under a shower of bricks, shots were fired over the heads of the rioters. This merely infuriated the hunger marchers.

Riot guns and machine guns opened fire. When the battle was over four men lay dead, three were carried away dying and a hundred or more on both sides nursed injuries. Among the dead lay a nineteen year old boy, Joe York, Detroit District Organizer for the Young Communist League.

The Ford Hunger March became the "Detroit Massacre" and modern communications broadcast the news around the world that "Henry Ford, the richest man in the world, is responsible for the death of four workers and the wounding of many others who came only to demand bread and milk for their hungry children."

The Rise of the C.I.O.

In November, 1935, the Congress of Industrial Organizations set up shop in Washington with seven charter unions and a claimed membership of one million. John L. Lewis, who had taken his 500,000 United Mine Workers and substantial treasury out of the A.F.L. became chairman. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers and International Ladies Garment Workers were the other two important unions forming the new labor federation. The split in the labor movement gave the Communists the opportunity they had long awaited.

The leaders of the newly formed C.I.O. — John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman, and Philip Murray — were bent on "organizing the unorganized." The greatest masses of unorganized workers were in steel, automobile manufacturing, communications, and marine transport. Steel was regarded as the hardest nut to crack because of the isolation and fortress-like plant protection systems surrounding most steel mills. The C.I.O. needed organizers badly and they had to be militant, fearless organizers. Communists obviously were the best qualified for this type of arduous and dangerous work. Lewis called in the Communists against the advice of David Dubinsky of the I.L.G.W.U. who had had his own bitter experiences with the Stalinists in the mid-Twenties. Lewis dismissed Dubinsky's objections with the rhetorical question; "Who gets the bird, the hunter or the bird-dog?" He, Lewis, was the mighty hunter, the Communists were mere bird-dogs who would run and fetch for him. Years later when the Communists forced Lewis out of the C.I.O. Dubinsky asked John L. the same question — "Who gets the bird, the bird-dogs or the hunter?" Lewis turned away in silent anger.

The story of C.I.O.'s whirlwind organization of both Big and Little Steel is now ancient history. Communists played an important role in storming what was once regarded as an impregnable fortress of anti-unionism. C.I.O.'s success in steel in turn intimidated the auto moguls and management in other industries which felt themselves to be more vulnerable to hard-hitting organization drives by labor backed up at least covertly by the Roosevelt Administration and the Wagner Act.

C.I.O. membership jumped from one to four million in a couple of stormy years. C.I.O. Communists not only ran off with the bird but they cut themselves nice thick juicy slices of pie in the form of well paid, strategic positions of control. Harry Bridges became Director for the entire West Coast C.I.O. Stalinists

slipped into top counsel and editorship posts. Entire and important unions fell under complete Communist domination — the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, the National Maritime Union, American Communications Association, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and Transport Workers of America, to mention the larger ones. A number of local and district unions of A.F.L. internationals also passed quietly and imperceptibly under Stalinist domination. The Communists were riding high, wide, and handsome in the American labor movement by 1937, or three years after the birth of the C.I.O.

Beggars mounted soon ride their steeds to death and Communists in control of important unions could not resist demonstrating their militancy and hatred for the "boss class" through a series of wildcat strikes and sit downs in industries vital to national defense. Rank and file C.I.O. membership and non-Communist leaders became increasingly worried over Communist arrogance and ruthlessness, not alone against employers but equally against anyone who stood in their way or questioned the wisdom of their policies and tactics.

The Stalin-Hitler Pact of August, 1939, which gave the Nazis a green light for the conquest of west Europe, brought the Communists into sharp conflict with America's policy of aiding Great Britain and the West European democracies. Molotov's observation that "Fascism is merely a matter of taste" was immediately accepted by American Communists as their cue that their chief propaganda claim as being the only true and dedicated anti-Fascists was to be quietly dropped. The line had changed again. The chief threat now to American labor was no longer Wall Street inspired fascism, or even Social-Fascism (Communist epithets for the New Deal and Norman Thomas form of Socialism), but "imperialist war."

The defense program and aid to Great Britain were part of an imperialist plot to drag the United States into an imperialist war of no concern to such "democratic" powers as Russia and the United States. A West Coast Communist newspaperman coined the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming!" It was naturally seized upon by the pacifists, isolationists, and other non-Communists as also echoing their own sentiments. Even though the U.S.S.R. and "Workers' Fatherland" was now allied with Nazi Germany and supplying Hitler with essential war material, American Communists nevertheless skillfully managed to maintain at least part of their position in the public esteem and confidence. At least they were trying to keep the country out of war.

The total and undeviating subservience of the American Communist Party to Soviet foreign policy was never more glaringly betrayed than when Hitler suddenly unleashed his all-out attack on Russia June 22, 1941. An American Peace Mobilization picket line which had been marching in front of the White House for months charging President Roosevelt with plotting to sneak us into war to help out Great Britain vanished in a matter of minutes. The slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming!" was changed overnight to read, "The Yanks Are Not Coming Too Late." Roosevelt's "war-mongering" now became "the peoples program of struggle to defeat Hitlerism."

The Draft Act of 1940, which the Communists had denounced vigorously in September of that year, was loudly applauded just one year later at the C.P. USA's Convention. Strikes, slow-downs, and wage increase demands, which the Communists had been actively spurring prior to June 22, 1941, now became sabotage against the "peoples struggle for freedom."

When the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, brought the United States into World War II, there was little noticeable change in the Communist Party "line." Russia was in mortal danger; the United States could take care of itself. The Communists however, within a few months, were loudly demanding the opening of a second front in Europe to take Nazi pressure off the badly beaten Soviet armies. Eugene Dennis writing in *The Communist* of April, 1942, stated that it was "imperative that the labor movement unitedly should make its voice heard and its influence felt on such life-and-death questions of insuring America's participation in the opening of a second front in Europe this spring." The Yanks, who were not even in uniform or through basic training, now could not be rushed overseas fast enough to please the Communists.

American labor learned an extremely valuable lesson from this remarkable and fast change of the Communist party line. American workers, favorably impressed by some aspect of Communist activity in their behalf, now saw where the true loyalty and interest of the Communists lay — Soviet Russia and not the American working class.

A report by a C.I.O. executive committee in 1949 found:

"Throughout this curious history, the Communist Party never ceased to claim that it made its decisions on the basis of genuine appraisal of the interests of the American people and of American labor. Those claims, were, of course, false. The record shows that the purpose of the Communist Party is the support of the Soviet Union and that the program of the party is designed with only the interests of the Soviet Union in view."

With the end of the war and the defeat of fascism Stalin lost no time in ordering the resumption of the cold war against the West. Indeed, there is considerable historical evidence of Soviet hostility towards this country long before the end of the war in Europe. The American Communist party was ordered to drop its wartime collaborationist role and revert back to straight line revolutionary activity. The no-strike pledge to continue after the end of the war was rescinded. Soviet demands that U. S. troops be withdrawn from China, Greece and elsewhere around the world were stepped up in the years after 1946. All U. S. armed forces were to be brought back and demobilized immediately to leave vacuum spots all over the world into which the Communists could move without opposition.

Persistent and undeviating support of every twist and turn in Soviet foreign policy by Communist controlled unions in the C.I.O. finally led to a showdown in 1949. Non-Communist C.I.O. leaders had been dropping known and troublesome Communists from key positions in the C.I.O. for some time. The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, seeing the handwriting on the wall, beat expulsion by dropping out of the C.I.O.

Late in 1949 the C.I.O. set up a number of investigating committees headed by top C.I.O. officials to determine whether certain C.I.O. affiliates were Communist controlled. Protracted hearings were held in Washington and the following nine unions were all expelled:

United Office and Professional Workers of America
Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers
National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards
American Communications Association
United Furniture Workers of America
International Fur and Leather Workers Union
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union
International Union of Mine, Mill, & Smelter Workers
United Public Workers of America

The United Furniture Workers cleaned house by ousting all Communist leadership at its next convention and was re-instated into the C.I.O. under a non-Communist board of officers.

Expulsion of nine Communist-dominated unions from the C.I.O. did not in any way lessen Communist influence in the American labor movement. Those deeply imbedded secret Communists in AFL-CIO unions have continued to carry on their pro-Soviet, pro-Communist activities as "progressives," meanwhile loudly and angrily denying any and all imputations of being what they actually are. David Sapos's **Communism in American Unions** and a number of Congressional committee hearings and reports issued during the past ten years identify many of these Fifth Columnists in the labor movement.

Legislation to eliminate or even restrain or retard Communist control of labor unions has not been too effective. While the Smith Act was enacted in 1940 against the Communist Party itself, Congress passed no legislation aimed at curbing Communism in the labor movement until 1947 when it passed the Taft-Hartley Act over President Truman's veto. Section 9 (h) denied National Labor Relations Board benefits and facilities to unions unless each officer had filed a sworn affidavit that "he is not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such Party, and that he does not believe in and is not a member of or supports any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or any illegal or unconstitutional methods."

The use of the present tense "is" made it easy for Communists to comply with the law. They merely resigned or went through fake motions of resigning from the Communist Party and then the next day signed the affidavit. Many Communist labor leaders were not formally enrolled or identifiable party members anyway, so they, too, had no trouble slipping through the loophole in the law. Such few prosecutions as were brought to conviction were interminably dragged out by endless appeals. It soon became obvious that Section 9 (h) was never going to catch very many Communist fish.

In the summer of 1954 Congress passed the Communist Control Act designed specifically to solve the problem of Communist domination of labor unions. This action on the part of Congress, in effect, acknowledged that neither

the unions themselves nor management could be expected to deal with the problem effectively. Even anti-Communist labor leaders had been strongly opposed to anti-Communist legislation as far as unions were concerned, maintaining that they could clean house themselves and that anti-Communist laws might be twisted to harass militant union organizers.

The record of employers in dealing with Communist controlled unions also was not a particularly notable one. Indeed, there is a substantial record particularly in the motion picture industry, maritime transport, electrical manufacturing and others where the employers blatantly and consistently favored Communist-controlled unions and Communist labor leaders against anti or non-Communist unions and officials. When confronted with charges of favoring Communists against non-Communists, these employers either hid behind the Taft-Hartley Act and Wagner Act, alleging they had no choice but to deal with the Communist union dominating their industry, or they openly admitted that they found the Communist unions easier to deal with and less troublesome.

As the Communists represented a divisive force in the labor movement, it was obvious that these unpatriotic and short-sighted employers favored the Communists as part of a general scheme to keep the labor movement divided and weak. Others had found out that Communist labor leaders were willing to make secret concessions of lower wages and other advantages in order to get a foothold in the industry and to undermine the stronger and older conservative union already in the industry. This whole question is examined in great detail and the culprits named in Saposs's **Communism in American Unions**.

Some of the original Communist-controlled unions expelled from the C.I.O. in 1950 have since disappeared or have quietly merged with other unions. However, four — the American Communications Association, The United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union — are today as strongly entrenched as ever in national defense areas.

Extensive hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities have revealed the A.C.A.'s strategic position astride vital communications in the New York area. Harry Bridges' I.L.W.U. has more than once tied up all West Coast shipping over what were claimed to be economic issues. The I.L.W.U. by strike action can isolate Hawaii more effectively than any hostile sea blockade. The I.M.M.S.W.A. carried on a strike running into months against copper producers while American troops were fighting for their lives in Korea.

All competent testimony is agreed that with the sole exception of the Furriers Union in New York, American unions whether they be A.F.L., C.I.O., or independent are 97 to 99% non-Communist as far as rank and file members are concerned. It is a phenomenon peculiar to the United States that Communists who control absolutely the labor movements of many other countries have made no progress whatever in converting American unionists to Marxism. This is a very sore point with the Communist leadership in this country and they have made repeated drives to colonize and extend their influence in so-called "basic industries."

In such unions as they do control they maintain their grip largely by economic means rather than by ideological persuasion. Workers mainly join unions for the bread and butter benefits and improved working conditions they believe the unions can bring them. Communists are smart enough not to attempt mass recruitment of union members into the Communist Party. Instead they stress their militantcy and ability to get "more" for the union than conservative and non-Communist leadership. They naturally keep a sharp lookout for individuals who may be "developed" into Communists.

General membership apathy and lack of interest in union meetings enable Communists through superior organization, parliamentary trickery and deception, and sound propaganda devices to maintain their control even though they represent only a tiny fraction of the total membership. The International Ladies Garment Workers and other unions have demonstrated in the past that once the membership is alerted and aroused over what Communists are doing to their union, ousting the Muscovites is no great problem provided leadership is supplied and the anti-Communists show the same zeal, devotion, and determination in cleaning house as the Communists show in their efforts to infiltrate and dominate a union.

Recommended Reading Pamphlets and Government Reports

Communist Trade Union Trickery Exposed	Baarslag, Argus Publishing Co., Chicago, 1950.
American Labor's Case Against Communism	Chaplin, Educator Publishing Co., Seattle, 1947.
How To Decontrol Your Union of Communists	Rev. Rice, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Communists Within the Labor Movement	U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Wash- ington, D. C., 1948.
Union Wreckers in Our Meeting Halls	Bennett, Los Angeles Citizen , Los Angeles, 1946.
Communist Tactics in American Unions	Epstein, Int. Assoc. of Machinists, Washington, D. C., 1951.
Business Fights Communists in the Labor Movement	Counterattack , New York, 1948.
The Communist in Labor Relations	Research Institute of America, New York, 1946.
Communist Domination of Certain Unions	Senate Sub-Committee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations, Washington, D. C., 1951.
Communist Control Act of 1954	Government Printing Office, Wash- ington, D. C.

Communist Attempt to Seize the
American Labor Movement

United Mine Workers, 1923, Indian-
apolis, Ind.

See also check lists of House Committee on Un-American Activities and Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee for numerous reports and hearings on Communism in unions. Also see Government Printing Offices latest catalog of government publications relating to Un-American Activities.

Magazine Articles

Will the C.I.O. Shake the Communists
Loose?

Alsops, *Saturday Evening Post*,
Feb.-Mar., 1947.

How I Handled the Reds in My Union

Dubinsky, *Saturday Evening Post*,
May 9, 1953.

C.I.O. Under Communist Domination

John Frey, *A.F.L. Weekly News Serv-
ice*, August, 20, 1938.

The Communist Threat to Labor

Gitlow, *Southern Economics Journal*,
April, 1951.

Rehearsal for Revolution

Stanley High, *Readers Digest*, July,
1941.

How the Commies Take Over a Union
Seagoing Soviets

Johnson, *America*, August, 1953.

McFee, *Saturday Evening Post*, Sep-
tember 21, 1940.

How the Garment Workers Licked
the Communists

Rich, *Saturday Evening Post*, August
9, 1947.

How Our Seamen Bounced the
Commies

Robinson, *Saturday Evening Post*,
December 25, 1948.

Red Threat to American Industry

Spolansky, *American Mercury*, May,
1953.

Communist Wreckers in American
Labor

Stolberg, *Saturday Evening Post*, Sep-
tember 2, 1939.

Red Pipeline Into Our Defense Plants

Velie, *Saturday Evening Post*, October
18, 1952.

See also the files of *New Leader*, *Justice* (I.L.G.W.U.) and *Labor Leader* (Assoc. of Catholic Trades Unionists) for series of articles covering many years.

Books

Communism in American Unions

Saposs, McGraw-Hill, N. Y., 1959

The Whole of Their Lives

Gitlow, Scribners, N. Y., 1948

The Techniques of Communism
(Chap. IX)

Budenz, Regnery, 1954

Red Decade (Chap. XIX)

Lyons, Bobbs Merrill, 1941

Men Without Faces

Budenz, Harper

Proletarian Journey
The Story of the C.I.O.
The General Strike
Bolshevism in American Labor Unions
Seventy Years of Life and Labor
Labor Lawyer
Cockney Communist
Communism versus the Negro

Beal, Hillman-Curl, 1937
Stolberg, Viking, 1938
Crook, Un. of No. Car. Press, 1931
Dyche, Boni-Liveright, 1926
Gompers, E. P. Dutton, 1943
Waldman, E. P. Dutton, 1944
Bob Darke, John Day
Nolan, Regnery, 1951

Lesson No. Eight

1. Why did Bolshevik leaders emphasize the importance of Russian unions to their revolution?
2. Were Communists the first American radicals to attempt to seize control of American Labor?
3. Which American unions first found themselves under active Communist attack in the mid '20's?
4. What was the Trade Union Unity League and what happened to it?
5. Which segment of our population was most successfully exploited by the Communists during the great depression?
6. Why were the Communists disappointed with their Hunger March on Washington in 1930?
7. About what year and in which city did the Communists stage their largest mass demonstration and riot?
8. Why did the C.I.O. during its first year of life welcome Communists?
9. What was the Communist Party line during the period when Soviet Russia and Germany were at war before the United States became involved in World War II?
10. What was the general line of the Communist Party while the United States was at war?
11. What happened at the end of World War II as far as the Communists were concerned in the American labor movement?
12. What action did the C.I.O. take with respect to Communist dominated unions in 1949-50?
13. What legislation is there presently on the statute books designed to cope with Communism in the labor movement?
14. Why have American laboring men largely rejected the appeals of Communism even when under Communist domination?

CHAPTER IX

MOSCOW'S AGENTS IN OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Communist infiltration into the school system as far as New York City is concerned began almost simultaneously with the founding of the Communist movement in this country. The New York Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities (Lusk Committee) reported in 1920:

“In addition to the widespread propaganda conducted by means of periodicals, pamphlets, newspapers, throwaways, speeches and other activities described in various chapters of this report, there is conducted in certain schools in this state and elsewhere, a systematic propaganda of revolutionary thought and action and we will in this chapter briefly refer to a few of these institutions.” (Page 1444, Part I, Vol. II.)

The Lusk Committee found “that on the whole it may be safely said that our public school system is comparatively free from the taint of revolutionary teaching.” But it did report that a number of school and college teachers had been discharged on account of Socialistic teaching or sentiments. Scott Nearing, for example, had been fired from the University of Toledo for radicalism as far back as 1915. Three leading Socialists spoke at some 120 colleges to over 30,000 students during the school year of 1915-16.

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society had been founded in a loft over a restaurant on Peck Street, New York, in 1905. Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Clarence Darrow, Morris Hillquit, and Harry Laidler were founders of the I.S.S. Walter Lippman, was elected president of the Harvard chapter of the I.S.S. in 1909. Other charter members were Freda Kirchwey, Eugene V. Debs, Ella Reeve Bloor, Alexander Trachtenberg, Frances Perkins, Rose Pastor Stokes, W. E. B. DuBois and John Haynes Holmes. Miss Kirchwey became editor and publisher of the *Nation*. Miss Perkins became F.D.R.'s Secretary of Labor, and Trachtenberg, DuBois, and Bloor became leading Communists.

In 1921 the Intercollegiate Socialist Society became the League for Industrial Democracy, still in existence today and extremely influential in left-liberal circles. John Dewey became a vice president of L.I.D. in the mid '30's and Reinhold Niebuhr served for a time as treasurer.

The Special Committee to Investigate Communist Propaganda of the House of Representatives was created by Congress in 1930. Hamilton Fish of New York became chairman. It held extensive hearings throughout the United States. Its report released in 1931 summed up its findings on Communist infiltration in the schools and colleges in two brief paragraphs:

"The committee had difficulty in obtaining information on the activities of communists in colleges and universities, but a considerable amount of information was submitted on the general subject of education, from which it appears that with the exception of those universities situated in large industrial cities communist activities were of a negligible quantity.

"It is apparent that there are quite a number of active communists in New York University, having their own Communist Club, but it would be difficult to ascertain with any accuracy their numbers or how far their activities are carried on in that university. Communists were also found to have infiltrated the Universities of Chicago, Wisconsin, Washington, California, and Columbia. The evidence regarding communist activities in colleges and universities is not conclusive and the list is far from complete."

The so-called McNaboe Committee of the New York Legislature (1939) was equally skimpy in its information. It reported:

"The testimony heard by this committee and the exhibits produced show beyond all question that the communists have invaded this state to such an extent that they have infiltrated through the public school system, universities, labor unions . . . and various state and municipal agencies and bureaus."

At this point it may be well to warn that some conservatives and anti-Communists have made a great mistake and have unwittingly aided both the progressive educationists and the Communists by attempting to link them together or to make them appear to be merely the two sides of the same coin. Confusing the pragmatism of the Dewey-Kilpatrick school of educational progressivism with secret Communists seeking to subvert our educational process has hurt neither the Deweyites nor the Communists.

A wholly incorrect evaluation of the precise orientation and purpose of two different forces, even though they appear to blend or parallel each other at certain points, has merely served to aid both tendencies. The Deweyites had no trouble proving that they were anti-Communist and they thereby gained some measure of sympathy and support while the Communists were quite happy to be mistaken for Deweyites and accused of carrying out progressive education ideas.

Albert Lynd in his very important QUACKERY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, Col. Augustin Rudd in his invaluable BENDING THE TWIG and several other competent authorities have correctly identified and explained the essence of the Dewey movement and its considerable divergence from the Communist-Socialist pattern of indoctrination. On the other hand it cannot be denied that the work of the Marxists in infiltrating and subverting our educational system has, at least to some degree, been facilitated and made easier by the pragmatists and their progressive education ideas.

America's outstanding authority on Communism, particularly in the religious and educational fields, Dr. J. B. Matthews, once wrote:

"Only juveniles playing at anti-Communism make the mistake of identifying Communism with progressive education, or progressive education with Communism. The fact is that progressive education and Communism are at opposite poles in their basic philosophy." (Communism and the Colleges, American Mercury, May, 1953.)

Col. Rudd goes so far as to say that the programs of the New Educators and particularly the Frontier Thinkers "have been strongly influenced by Socialism, both Marxian and Fabian in form, in formulating their educational philosophy. It can be said that their program is a vestibule where the educational pragmatism of Dewey and the political collectivism of Marx interfuse." (Bending the Twig, page 209.)

Lynd, an equally competent authority, goes to great length in his chapter on Dewey to prove that he was not a Marxist and that his philosophy "is quite inconsistent with the 'dialectic' of Marxian theory . . . Dewey had no truck with Communism. His philosophy is so definitely hostile to the Marxian orthodoxy of Lenin and Stalin that the efforts of an occasional reactionary pamphleteer to link him with Communism are the work of malice or ignorance. . . . Though Dewey himself is clearly opposed to Communism, more than a few of his Educationist disciples during the 'Thirties' took a remarkably sympathetic view of the Soviet leviathan." (QUACKERY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, pages 200-202.)

While the word "Communism" is capable of fairly precise definition, the term Socialism, both through misuse by the ignorant and deliberate deception by the Socialists, has become almost impossible of definition. See in particular John T. Flynn's ROAD AHEAD. Nevertheless, it is of critical importance in the fight against Communism that at least some dependable landmarks or positive stigmata be established.

While the word itself is a little over a hundred years old, the ideological roots of Socialism go back at least to Plato if not earlier. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, an authority on Marxist history in his SURVEY OF SOCIALISM (London, 1929) asserts that he has found at least 600 different definitions of Socialism in usage in a score of countries.

Hearnshaw lists six basic principles which his studies indicate are fundamental to the Socialist concept:

1. Extinction of all private enterprise.
2. Expropriation of the landlord.
3. Elimination of capitalists.
4. Eradication of competition.
5. Equalization of human conditions.
6. Exaltation of the community above the individual.

All true Socialists support Marx's Communist Manifesto. Near Socialists, collectivists of various shadings, planned economy exponents and other leftists accept only such parts of Marxism as may fit in with their own ideas or notions of how future society should be organized. It is largely this amorphous and difficult to classify species which have made the greatest inroads in our educational process.

They fearfully reject the dangers and discipline of Communism. They also realize that the word "Socialism" has acquired an unpleasant connotation and that doctrinaire Socialism can be almost as uncomfortable as the Iron Maiden of Communism. So they mix their own blend of pseudo-Marxian hashish and blow out pink smoke rings instead of red.

Until the early Thirties, Communist infiltration into our educational system was largely confined to the New York City area. The recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the new Roosevelt Administration in 1933 immediately gave American Communists a respectability they had not previously enjoyed. With increased respectability and acceptance came greater opportunities to display and sell their Moscow ideological wares. The great depression, beginning in 1929, also naturally served to disillusion many teachers with the economic stability of the free enterprise system and to turn instead to the rosier promises of a "better world" by the Communists.

Communist infiltrators and proselytizers have always found our educational system, particularly at college level, a lush and easy field to penetrate. The academic tradition of broad-minded tolerance and liberalism for all expressions of human thought, no matter how repugnant some might be, naturally offered little more resistance to Communist penetration than a sponge does to rain.

At such few universities and colleges where the administration or trustees attempted to counter Communist infiltration by firing an exceptionally blatant and offensive pro-Communist professor the resultant hullabaloo raised by the whole radical-liberal establishment throughout the United States was generally of such magnitude and violence as to discourage and scare off any others foolhardy enough to try to do the same. "Raising a howling protest" over the alleged "attack on the Bill of Rights," American liberties, human freedom and dignity, and finally what was represented to be "academic freedom" is a highly successful and thoroughly routinized procedure of the left-liberals in this country. Highly vocal and quick-acting allies in the mass communications fields can always be depended upon to spring into action with nationwide, saturation point coverage.

In the main, however, Communists found that the general apathy and ignorance of educational administrators was so profound that they really had little to worry about. The California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in its Sixth Report (1951) found:

"During the early period of the Young Communist League and other student organizations such as the National Student League, the American Student Union, the Young Progressive Students for Wallace, and other comparable youth organizations that were heavily infiltrated with Communism, educational administrators of the United States, charged as they were with the duty of educating the youth of the land and protecting them from indoctrination by subversive faculty members, paid little attention to the real aims and objectives of International Communism. It was a rare thing to find an educational administrator who had really done enough reading and research on his own to inform himself adequately concerning techniques used by the Communist Party in recruiting students to Marxism, the techniques that could best be used to identify and expose Communist-front organizations operating among the students, and the methods by which undercover Communist Party faculty members could be exposed and removed from the institutions in which they taught.

"There was a tolerant, apathetic attitude towards such things that was simply grist to the Communist mill; an attitude that made the operation of Communist-front organizations and recruiting of students a very simple task for the Party." (Emphasis added.)

The report then added that this tolerant attitude of American school administrators towards Communist infiltration up to the time of the Korean war was well discussed by Sidney Hook in a **Commentary Magazine** article entitled "Academic Integrity and Academic Freedom" (October, 1949).

This general apathy and tolerance by the academic world towards Communism was unwittingly confirmed in a most striking manner by a survey conducted in 1954 with Fund for the Republic money. Some 6000 persons of all walks of life and in all parts of the United States were interviewed by some 537 interviewers to probe out **not** their opinions "but deeper latent attitudes or dispositions" on "two dangers facing America." One, the Communist conspiracy from without and from within. Two, "Those who in thwarting the conspiracy would sacrifice some of the very liberties which the enemy would destroy."

Buried in the middle of the report and certainly not advertized by the promoters of this survey was a most damaging indictment of our whole educational system as far as alerting the younger generation to Communism is concerned. The survey found that our younger, college trained generation was much more "tolerant," that is to say, indifferent towards Communism than older people with less than college educations.

Only the survey questionnaire was rigged to lump Communists together with Socialists and atheists as "non-conformists." There are no laws on the statute books against Socialists or atheists. No Socialist or non-Communist atheist has ever been involved in espionage in behalf of the U.S.S.R., according to government hearings. Avowed Socialists in fact are almost extinct, except for the New York area and a few other remnants in the East. Neither group have any national organization or publications worth mentioning.

The purpose in linking these two unimportant groups of non-conformists, who present no threat to our national security, with Communist conspirators in the survey financed by the Fund for the Republic, was obviously to throw a protective cover of tolerance over the Communists. It was clearly the intent of those who conducted the survey and compiled and published its findings to secure for Communist conspirators, and so identified by law since 1940, the same general tolerance which most Americans have extended toward Socialists, freethinkers, vegetarians and other dissenters and non-conformists in our midst.

The findings of this survey were published in a book, **COMMUNISM CONFORMITY, AND CIVIL LIBERTIES**, by Samuel Stouffer, Doubleday, 1955. Stouffer expressed great satisfaction that, thanks to "their greater schooling which the younger generation has received" it showed a far broader tolerance towards Communists. The fact that American Legion post commanders, D.A.R. regents, and others of an older and more patriotic generation were more intolerant towards subversion was naturally deplored. In other words, ignorance and anti-Communism go hand in hand.

Stouffer wrote, "Even among those 60 or over, those who attended or graduated from college are more likely to be tolerant of non-conformists than those who have not completed high school." In other words, thanks to the colleges, the younger generation is more tolerant towards **all** non-conformists, including Communists, than those with lesser educational backgrounds!

The whole costly survey, conducted with tax-exempt money, would have performed a real public service if its questionnaire had honestly separated the Communist black sheep from the others and thus scientifically established just what Americans do think about Communism. The survey also admitted that "church-goers," that is to say, religious people "were inclined to be less tolerant toward non-conformists than non-Churchgoers." Hardly a startling discovery.

The California Senate Committee report (1951) previously cited, also stated that the first campus branch of the Communist Party had been set up at the University of California "shortly after the Communist Party of the United States was organized." The Committee also learned from former Communists, who had occupied positions of importance in the Party, that other state and junior colleges had also been infiltrated and that flourishing Communist Party units had been functioning for a number of years even in "the larger high schools in key cities throughout the state." (Page 37 et seq.)

In the main, however, Communist work among student groups up to 1930 had been largely limited to New York, the Chicago area, Seattle, and California. The Young Communist League was organized at a small underground conference on Sunnybrook Farm near Bethel, Conn., in 1922. The slavish subservience of the American Communist movement to Soviet directives was demonstrated by its curious omission of work among American students for the first twelve years of its history. Communist International directives were full of instructions "to examine the question of tactics and the methods of work of the Young Communist International, with a view to embracing larger sections of the working youth . . ." etc. Young Communists were to "penetrate into every organization to which young workers belong (trades unions, sports organizations, etc.). Lenin himself had participated actively in setting up the Young Communist International to emphasize the importance which the Communists placed on work among the youth of all nations. Young Communist Leagues became affiliates of the Y.C.I.

So, throughout the first twelve years of Communist activity in this country, its youth programs were aimed almost exclusively at "proletarian youth." Writing in the *Young Communist Review*, April, 1938, ("Sweet Sixteen — Our League Anniversary") Gil Green, National Secretary of the Young Communist League admitted that it was not until 1931 that "we made our first concerted efforts among student youth." Green referred to the founding of the National Student League, which was Communist-led and Communist-dominated from its very inception. The nucleus of the National Student League was the Social Problems Club of City College, New York, which the Communists had captured and taken away from the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

The May, 1937, issue of *The Communist* carried an important article by Richard Frank, "The Schools and the Peoples Front," which laid down the Communist Party's general directive for all comrades and others under Party discipline to carry out in the educational field.

Frank began with the public schools. They were mind "prisons" of the bourgeoisie in which the children of the toiling masses are indoctrinated by the

boss class in false values of patriotism, loyalty, duty, discipline, and general acceptance of the social order. This must be changed! Students must be taught to rebel against their teachers and to regard their parents and their elders as remnants of another age whose heads are full of reactionary and outmoded nonsense. The main line of attack was to be against established values, against established traditions and cultural values, and against all forms of authority.

The teachers, whom the party had previously ignored, were to be turned against the "ruling classes" which exploit them and, where possible, subverted into undercover pro-Communists apologists. Sympathizers and dupes were to be exploited by recruiting and mobilizing them to fight for the "new order."

Frank contended that a college education was essentially a "commodity" which was largely "sold for a profit" and hence largely beyond the reach of the proletariat. Nevertheless college teachers could carry on important work for the Party by instilling hatred for the "system" in their pupils and agitating them into making endless "demands" on the administration. The purpose of the demands was not important as long as it caused strife and dissension, kept the students keyed up and in a truculent mood and hence provoked the administration into making counter measures. These counter measures could then be exploited as proving the iron-fisted control of the money-bags who endowed the colleges.

Teachers were to "take advantage of their positions without exposing themselves, to give their students to the best of their ability working-class education." (Working class education is Communist newspeak for Communist education. ed. note.) In order to enable all Communist teachers to inculcate such "working class education" at a minimum risk to themselves the party:

"Must take careful steps to see that all teacher comrades are given thorough education in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teaching at the least risk of exposure and at the same time to conduct struggles around the schools in a truly Bolshevik manner." (Page 440, *The Communist*.)

The following year, William Z. Foster writing in the same official Communist publication wrote: "... our teachers must write new school textbooks and rewrite history from the Marxian viewpoint. ..." (Page 805, *The Communist*, September, 1938.)

Perhaps the most valuable testimony to date on Communist Infiltration into our educational process was made by Dr. Bella V. Dodd before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee in 1953. Dr. Dodd had been a leading Communist official and teacher in New York for many years. She told the Senate subcommittee:

"The Communist teacher has a very definite function to perform. He must not only make himself an agent of the class struggle; he must indoctrinate other teachers in the class struggle and he must see that their students are indoctrinated in the class struggle. That does not have to be in four syllable words. The class struggle means in the classroom that schools are regarded, for instance, as part of the apparatus of the bourgeois state, and therefore the student is considered to be in rebellion against the

bourgeois state (in being in rebellion against the school). It is the function of the teacher to fan that rebellion and to make the student recognize that only by establishing a Soviet system of government will you be able to be free. This was the function of the Communist teacher: To create people who would be ready to accept the Communist regime." (Page 529, Subversive Influence in the Educational Process, March 10, 1953.)

These invaluable reports are now unfortunately out of print but may possibly be found in deposit libraries which receive these government hearings and reports.

The same Senate subcommittee reported in 1953:

"That early in the 1940's there were approximately 1,500 Communist school teachers in the United States, with a very heavy concentration in the greater New York area. Testimony reflected that early in 1950 there were in New York approximately 500 teachers who were members of the Communist Party. Prior to that time and during the war when propaganda encouraged the expansion of the Communist organization, the number was estimated to reach 750 in Greater New York City. It is to be pointed out, however, that these figures do not reflect the full strength of the Communist organization. These are only the informed estimates of actual Communist Party members and do not include any of those who, while not actually party members, were Communist Party sympathizers, or teachers who performed under the influence of other Communists."

The subcommittee subpoenaed some 82 educators from 16 universities and educational institutions who had been identified in sworn testimony as Communists. Nearly all of them invoked the Fifth Amendment and several were quite contemptuous and contumacious before the subcommittee when asked about Communist activity in education which they might know about.

Mrs. Dodd testified that from her own first hand knowledge there were Communist cells composed of faculty members at all four New York city colleges, i.e., City College, Columbia University, Long Island University, and New York University as well as Vassar College, Wellesley College, Smith, Harvard, M.I.T., Northwestern University, and the universities of Michigan, Chicago, Minnesota, California, and Howard in Washington, D. C.

Louis Budenz, one of the government's most important witnesses at various trials and hearings involving Communists, confirmed Mrs. Dodd's list and added two more, Cornell and Sarah Lawrence.

Illinois, Massachusetts, California, Ohio and New York have held what could be called fairly thorough or important investigations into Communist activity in their educational systems. California appears to be the sole state which has a permanent or continuing committee charged with overseeing subversive infiltration into the state's educational institutions.

The Rapp-Coudert Legislative Investigating Committee of New York, 1940-42, was perhaps a model for such investigations. Some 69 teachers at high school and college level were exposed as Communist Party members and substantial derogatory evidence of pro-Communist and Communist front activity was unearthed on 434 others. The chief value of the Rapp-Coudert investigation was that it was not afraid to name names and expose subversive records.

When the incredible news that Stalin and Hitler had signed a mutual friendship and support pact was announced to a stunned and shocked world in August, 1939, thousands of American hardened Communists tore up their party cards in disgust and indignation. Overnight the C.P. USA became a pariah to the liberal world. In desperation the Communist Party issued a manifesto denouncing as a "fantastic falsehood that the USSR and the totalitarian states are basically alike."

A number of this country's leading academicians immediately rushed to the defense of the badly compromised Communists and signed the Communist Party's proclamation. A few of the names follow:

Thomas Addis	Leland Stanford
Newton Arvin	Smith College
Dorothy Brewster	Columbia University
Robert A. Brady	University of California Los Angeles
Mildred Fairchild	Bryn Mawr
Henry P. Fairchild	New York University
Mortimer Graves	American Council Learned Societies
Samuel N. Harper	University of Chicago
Emil Lengyel	New York University
Max Lerner	Williams College
Katherine Lumpkin	Smith College
Anita Marburg	Sarah Lawrence College
Herbert A. Miller	Bryn Mawr
John P. Peters	Yale
Alan Porter	Vassar
Frederick L. Schuman	Williams College
Vida Scudder	Wellesley
Ernest J. Simmons	Cornell
Harry F. Ward	Union Theological Seminary
and many others	

In March, 1949, the Communists staged in New York City at the Waldorf Astoria what might be described as one of their major propaganda spectacles designed to dazzle the intellectual world. The extravaganza, whose librettos and dance routines had all been written in Moscow, was billed as the "Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace." Even the State Department, still under powerful liberal and "let's not be beastly to the Communists" school of thinking, had to admit that it was a "sounding board for Soviet Propaganda." The House Committee on Un-American Activities was a bit more direct and blunt. It called the conference "a supermobilization of inveterate wheel horses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations."

The subversive and anti-American character of this Moscow inspired conference was well advertised long before the party faithful began to descend on the Waldorf Astoria. Indeed, there were picket lines of veterans, foreign born refugees from Communism, and American intellectuals before both entrances to the hotel. Notwithstanding all this, seven presidents of colleges or institutions of higher learning gave their names as sponsors. The heads of two Communist training schools or academies, Holland Roberts of the California Labor School

and Howard Selsam of the notorious Jefferson School of Social Science also lent their names as sponsors and certainly were in good company.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities went to the trouble of compiling the Communist front records of all the sponsors of this "super-mobilization of inveterate Communist Party supporters." Fifty-three had belonged to, or in some manner supported, at least twenty to as many as 85 Communist fronts and/or enterprises. **Of these fifty-three top ranking heavyweight champion Communist frontiers eighteen or over one-third were either educators or had been in the past.**

On December 4, 1947, U. S. Attorney General Tom Clark promulgated a list of subversive organizations, membership in or activity in behalf of which could be used as a basis for instituting ouster proceedings against Federal officials and employees. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was on this dishonor roll. Notwithstanding this fact, months after the list was officially published the names of 37 leading educators still appeared on the NCASP's letterhead and other printed matter. Still more startling was the fact that these were no small fry, unimportant figures in the academic groves. Every one of the thirty-seven was of sufficient national standing to be in "Who's Who In America"!

The U. S. Attorney General also cited two Communist training schools, the Jefferson School in New York, already mentioned, and the Samuel Adams School for Social Studies in Boston, as Communist and subversive. Quicker than one can say "academic freedom!" no less than 153 professors in leading colleges and universities signed an appeal to the Attorney General to rescind the citation. No less than sixty leading universities and colleges from Harvard and Yale to Alabama State Teachers College and the University of California were represented by one or more protesters.

The excuse that college professors are cloistered and often naive and uninformed men and hence easily taken in by appeals couched in humanitarian terms is without merit. This might apply to clergymen, and often does, but academicians charged with the eternal search for truth and, in effect, guardians of intellectual integrity, can hardly plead gullibility. An intellectual, of all people, should be the last to admit he was gulled or flimflammed.

Dr. J. B. Matthews once compiled a list of the top 100 Communist frontiers in this country. Broken down by professions, college professors led all the rest with twenty-three. Sixteen were writers and eight were clergymen.

In 1956 the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee published "The Communist Party of the United States — What It is — How It Works." It was sub-titled "A Handbook For Americans." This is one of the most valuable of a number of important government publications on the subject of Communism. After explaining the reason for and nature of Communist fronts the handbook lists 82 of the "most typical sponsors of front organizations." No less than 23 or 28 percent were educators, past or present.

College professors not only teach and lecture but they also write books, usually college textbooks. While a leftist professor in the course of a college

semester may indoctrinate or infect perhaps a few hundred students, a college textbook, written and slanted by a pro-Soviet apologist, will influence the thinking of literally tens of thousands of students whose colleges use or recommend the book in question.

To cite only one horrible example — USSR by Ernest J. Simmons of Cornell University. During the summers of 1943 and 1944 Cornell offered a series of courses on Contemporary Russian Civilization. The Rockefeller Foundation financed the project according to the preface. It was represented as “a unique educational approach to a planned and integrated study of the total civilization of a historical, geographical, and economic area.” The “total civilization” of the USSR fails to make any mention of the secret police character of Soviet Russia, its total suppression of all human liberties and, naturally, not a word of the horrors of slave labor camps in Siberia which have cost the lives of untold millions of innocent human beings.

In reviewing this remarkable and “unique educational approach to a planned and integrated study,” Professor Warren B. Walsh of Syracuse pointed out that “at least fifteen of the twenty contributors are pro-Soviet in varying degree, although it should at once be added that they have generally held their enthusiasms in greater restraint than is their custom. The result, however, is a lack of balance that is most distressing in what Professor Simmons refers to as a ‘basic, factual survey.’”

Among the fifteen pro-Soviet contributors to USSR were Corliss Lamont, Frederick L. Schuman, Louis Lozowick, Harriet Lucy Moore, and Vladimir Kazakevich. Harriet Lucy Moore, now Gelfand, was identified as a Communist by Louis Budenz and has an extensive record in the Institute of Pacific Relations hearings. Kazakevich, a registered Soviet agent and Soviet subject, departed between nights many years ago when he somehow learned that the authorities were planning his deportation back to the Soviet fatherland.

The injection of pro-Soviet propaganda was not limited to college textbooks. In 1945 the reputable publishing house of Doubleday and Company published *WE ARE THE GOVERNMENT* by Mary Elting. The book was approved by the New York, Chicago, and other school authorities. They apparently never looked through the book for children of grammar school level. If they had they would have found that the Communists in Russia modelled their government on our Constitution!

“Other countries read the Constitution and were excited by it. . . . And almost immediately our Constitution began to have influence outside the United States. Other countries including Switzerland, Liberia, and the Soviet Union, have been adapting its ideas ever since.”

The book is loaded with similar dishonest fakes and distortions.

Mary Elting was a teacher at the Communist Jefferson School for five years between 1937 and 1942.

In 1953 the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee released its report “Subversive Influence in the Educational Process,” winding up two years of extensive hearings.

Its conclusions were:

1. World Communist leaders have made schools and colleges of the United States a target of infiltration and activity as part of the program to destroy the United States.
2. A Communist educator, because of his submission to a totalitarian organization, cannot maintain the standards of academic freedom and objective scholarship and be loyal to the regulations of local authorities.
3. Communist teachers use their positions in a classroom and in extra-curricular activities to subvert students and other teachers and the public to promote the objectives of Communism.
4. Communist teachers exercise as part of an organized conspiracy an influence far more extensive than their numbers would indicate.
5. Communist penetration of the schools is becoming more covert, and Communist teachers are being organized into a secret underground more difficult to detect.
6. Teachers, students, and educational authorities, public and private do not today have the means to identify, unassisted, secret members of the Communist Party or to trace their conspiratorial activities.
7. Exposure of Communists by congressional and state legislative committees has helped local authorities protect themselves against organized subversion and has given such authorities the evidence by which some hidden Communists could be removed from teaching positions.
8. Since the great majority of present-day secret Communists can, only with great difficulty, be identified by evidence sufficient to justify legal action, it falls upon the educators themselves to devise criteria and methods to deal with teachers whose adherence to the Communist conspiracy, though not easily legally provable, makes them morally unfit to teach as well as a threat to national security.
9. A teacher, who invokes his privilege against incrimination rather than deny membership in the Communist organization before a duly constituted authority, violates his trust and forfeits his right to shape the character of our youth."

The Senate subcommittee then recommended that educational authorities give consideration to the program adopted by the state of California in dealing with subversive teachers; that educational authorities set up criteria and initiate procedures whereby schools, colleges and universities could eliminate teachers who have demonstrated their unsuitability to teach because of their collaboration with the Communist conspiracy. The committee also recommended that educational authorities institute positive programs under qualified experts to teach both teachers and pupils the true nature of the Communist conspiracy and how best to combat it.

There are about 1,391,000 teachers of all classes from kindergarten to graduate level in the United States. Of this number roughly 300,000 are college, university or seminary teachers, professors, or administrators. Dr. J. B. Matthews, a recognized authority in this field, has compiled the front records of some 6,000 educators, practically all of them at college or university level. Of this number probably not over 2000 could be said to have long, consistent, and significant Communist front affiliations. Yet, to paraphrase a famous observation of Winston Churchill, never have so few served to bring so much disgrace and suspicion on so many otherwise honorable and patriotic people.

Uncritical and unreflective minds are prone to be impressed by the exceptionable and the rarity. The dedication, loyalty, and devotion to the highest

principles of their profession by ten thousand clergymen or teachers is often overlooked and ignored by those who are understandably aroused over the misconduct of a lone minister or educator.

If any indictment at all can be levelled at educators as a class it is that they failed largely to understand or refused to study the true nature of the enemy bent upon the destruction of all western cultural, social, spiritual, moral, and ethical values. For every college Bolshevik there were easily a hundred or more sound and patriotic professors on the same campus, who, had they only banded together to protect the good name of their profession and the sanctity of their calling, could easily have squelched, exposed, and removed the one rotten apple from their barrel. Insofar as they failed to do so, they failed as culture-bearers and guardians of the intellectual integrity of their civilization, as Viereck so brilliantly pointed out in "The Shame and Glory of the Intellectuals."

Recommended Reading

- "Do Colleges Have To Hire Red Professors," Louis Budenz, American Legion Magazine, November, 1951.
- "What Shall We Do About Communist Teachers?," Sidney Hook, Saturday Evening Post, September 10, 1949.
- "UCLA's Red Cell: Case History of College Communism," William L. Worden, Saturday Evening Post, October 21, 1950.
- "How Communists Try to Influence American Teachers," U. S. News and World Report, July 31, 1953.
- "Communism and the Colleges," J. B. Matthews, American Mercury, May, 1953.
- Subversive Influence in the Educational Process, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, 1952-53, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
- Permit Communist-Conspirators To Be Teachers?, Hamilton Long, House Document No. 213, 1953, Government Printing Office.
- 100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Education, House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1951.
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Lesson No. Nine

1. Why are Communists not qualified to teach?
2. Is so-called progressive education Communistic?
3. Do college graduates necessarily have a better understanding of the nature of Communism and how Communists operate than those with lesser education?
4. Educational administrators have particularly distinguished themselves with a long record of alert and intelligent exposure of Communist infiltration in education. True or false?
5. What effect did the Great Depression of 1929-36 have on the attitude of teachers towards Communism?
6. What are a few of the essential differences between the Soviet concept of education and the American?
7. In various compilations of outstanding and inveterate Communist frontiers and pro-Soviet apologists, educators stand fairly close to the bottom of the list, about in the middle, at the very top? Check which you believe to be correct.
8. What duties are laid down on the Communist teacher by Communist Party directives?

CHAPTER X

THE INFILTRATION OF RELIGIOUS BODIES

The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the United States, J. Edgar Hoover, declared to the Congress of the U. S., that he confessed to a real apprehension when Communists were able to secure ministers of the Gospel to promote their evil work and to espouse a cause alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism.

Mr. Hoover stated in an article written for a large and popular magazine that not only had the Communists penetrated church groups but that he was shocked to see "the monster atheism being nourished in the churches which it seeks to destroy."

There is no doubt as to the fact that churches, theological seminaries, church-supported universities, and church publishing houses in the United States have been infiltrated by subversives. Thousands of pages of sworn testimony and documents testify to this terrible fact.

But, why? Is not the church and Christianity supposed to be the very antithesis of Communism? Is not Communism atheistic?

One can never know the answer to these questions until he asks several more questions, and receives the answers to them.

It is necessary to ask: What **kind** of churches and pastors support Communism and give aid and comfort to the enemy of the souls of men? In the answer to this question lies the reason why more than 8,000 pastors in the United States have aided the Kremlin Conspiracy in some manner or other.

Not every building which has the word "Church" on it is necessarily the genuine article. Not every man who adopts the titles "minister," "pastor" or "reverend" is necessarily a servant of Christ or true shepherd of the sheep of God's flock.

No less an authority than Jesus Christ himself warned his followers in the Gospel, as recorded by St. Matthew, to "beware of those who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are as ravening wolves." (St. Matthew 7:15.)

Notice that they do not appear as wolves, but as sheep — a disguise, or front!

The Apostle Paul, the first systematic theologian of the early church, warned the churches again and again of the religious "wolves," "false prophets," "false teachers," "apostates," and servants of Satan who would appear as "ministers of righteousness." The "front," again.

In every case involving a minister in Communist activity, within the United States, you will find that he is what we call a "modernist" or radical in the field of theology. He is on record as denying every major doctrine of the Christian Faith. He dislikes the supernatural, the divine and the miraculous. He seeks to explain all of life and history from the humanistic, rationalistic and materialistic point of view. He sees no room for faith. What he cannot see with his own human eyes, or what he cannot accept with his own human brain, he rejects.

This is the ghost of radical theologian, Dr. Feurbach, teacher of Karl Marx, appearing.

There was a time in the United States when all the major Protestant groups believed and taught certain basic and fundamental doctrines of Christianity. These doctrines were printed in the creeds of these denominations. Every candidate for the ministry, professor in a church training school, or applicant for foreign missionary service had to affirm belief in these doctrines. Furthermore, every convert and member of these churches had to affirm belief in them. The children were taught these doctrines in the catechism classes and in the Sunday Schools. They were preached from the pulpits.

Beginning at the entrance of the Twentieth Century, all of this began to change, so that now, denial of these doctrines has gained such momentum, that belief in them can scarcely be found except in a few churches here and there which are ridiculed and referred to by the Modernists in the most derogatory terms.

The Modernists are in control of the religious life of U. S. Protestantism. Their leaders have banded together in a powerful political organization known as the National Council of Churches in the U. S. A. Almost all the major Protestant groups, with but several notable exceptions, are affiliated with this radical organization. The members of these individual denominations were never asked by their leaders whether or not they wished to join the council. The leaders just committed the people to membership arbitrarily.

The leaders of this council are among the most blatant deniers of the Christian Faith. They seem to pride themselves in promoting one another to high positions within the Council on the basis of unbelief. Their sermons, books and lectures provide adequate documentation as to their unbelief.

To them, Jesus Christ was not and is not the divine Son of God. They deny that He was conceived of the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary without a human father. They deny that He performed the miracles as recorded in the sacred scriptures. They deny that He died for man's sin on the cross and that the shedding of His blood was the ransom price paid for man's salvation. They deny that He arose victoriously from the tomb and that He subsequently appeared in visible form to hundreds of witnesses. They deny that He ascended into Heaven where He sits at the right hand of God the Father.

These apostates deny that the Bible is the Word of God. They accept the rationalism of the German school of higher criticism which seeks to explain away the Mosaic authorship of the first five books of the Bible, the Pentateuch, and

attribute the Old Testament accounts of Creation, The Fall of Man, the Great Flood, etc. to primitive mythology.

They sweep away the foundations of Christian belief in the name of "scholarship" and of "science." This leaves a complete vacuum or void. They must fill this void with something.

But, what?

The answer is: Materialism, the same foundation upon which Communism is built! And, because there are so many who have a lust for the materialistic things of life here and now, in preference to the unseen things of The Spirit, the Modernists secure a big following of supporters who trust their leadership in these matters.

If the average church member does not know the true message and mission of the Christian Church, then, naturally, he can be led astray by men, posing as the true messengers, and will not be able to detect error when it shows its ugly head.

The Modernist or radical must substitute a program for the Faith he has denied. He secures it from the Communists, many times unknowingly. He cloaks it in "Social Action" or "Social Progress." The very adoption of this program aids in neutralizing the anti-Communist character of the church and provides a new propaganda medium for subversive forces.

It is not uncommon in the United States today to find clergymen signing petitions on behalf of Communist Party leaders who are convicted and put in prison, or to find them placing their names in large newspaper ads with Communist Party members and sympathizers, attacking U. S. government security laws, Congressional investigations, and the F.B.I.

Their pulpits and pews are often used for oral and written defense of Communists and Communist programs. Leaders of American Communist groups have even occupied the church pulpits of many of these modernist preachers on invitation of the preachers. American Communist Party officers have openly boasted time and time again that they have many friends among the clergy. All of this is a matter of sworn testimony and voluminous documentation. Communism has even been declared by some of these to be merely an extension and fulfillment of the teachings of Jesus and the system of the Early Church in Jerusalem!

This strategy for changing the entire character of Christian Churches to suit Communist purposes was designed and planned in Moscow.

In New York City on July 7, 1953, the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U. S. House of Representatives took testimony from four former top members of the Communist Party and from the famous American F.B.I. spy, Herbert A. Philbrick, who spent 9 years in the Communist Party disguised as a Communist. This testimony was so important that it was taken in Executive Session, that is, behind closed doors in secret.

So important was that testimony and so shocking its content, that the Committee did not take the SECRET classification off it until September 10, 1953. At that time the Committee released it to the American Public only because certain radical religious leaders, who had been associated with the Kremlin apparatus over a period of years were openly attacking the Committee all over the nation in an effort to discredit the investigations of the Committee into the ranks of the clergy.

On page 2046 of this testimony Mr. Joseph Zack Kornfeder, former member of the International Secretariat of the Communist Party, and a graduate of the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow, is testifying. He had just been asked by Congressman Gordon Scherer of the State of Ohio what method Moscow had adopted for the infiltration of the church system throughout the world. Mr. Kornfeder said that at first the method had been to attack the churches from the outside and to use Marx's old slogan that "religion is the opium of the people"; but, the Kremlin leaders soon discovered that they were not making too much progress against religion through this means. Therefore, a new method was devised as follows:

Mr. Kornfeder: "They designed a method out of which were fashioned the infiltration methods later on practiced in capitalistic countries. They created a thing that became known as the living church movement. The living church movement was based on the idea of interpreting the teaching of Christ and the Apostles in a way that would serve to a large extent Communist purposes; that is, for instance, there is a part in the Bible which says that Christ chased the money changers out of the temple. Well, that would be interpreted that Christ was an Anti-capitalist . . . that is, all the things in the Bible or about the Apostles that could be used for materialistic interpretation combined with the theological approach were utilized to fashion the ideology for their living church movement. The general idea is to move from the spiritual concept to the materialistic one and to make the church an instrument of social strife . . . it concentrates on the so-called social problems, all the problems that naturally could be exploited to create social strife between classes, races, etc."

What Kornfeder has said here of the strategy adopted by Moscow for the taking over of the churches is being carried out before our very eyes in the United States of America. A substitution for the genuine Christian Gospel has been made. That substitution is the Social Gospel and it is wrecking our churches, our schools, our homes — our nation in general today.

The Christian Gospel is a supernatural, a divine, and a miraculous Gospel. The Social Gospel is a humanistic, rationalistic and materialistic gospel. The Christian Gospel has to do with a supernatural New Birth or Regeneration of the individual; the Social gospel has to do with improving man's state by social coercion and in shifting the emphasis from the individual to collective groups. The Christian Gospel put the emphasis on the need of the eternal soul, while the Social gospel puts the emphasis on the temporal stomach. The question evolves itself into this: Can a full stomach satisfy an empty heart?

The Christian Gospel had its origin in Jesus Christ as the supernatural Divine Son of God, while the Social Gospel had its origin in the twisted brain of the Pyxilated Prophet, Karl Marx.

The Social gospel was actually hatched in this country from "eggs" brought over from 19th Century Germany which produced the Kants, Hegels, Schopenhauers, Feuerbachs, Nietzsches, and Marxs. It was the custom for American theological students to go to Germany and obtain their higher academic degrees in the schools where the social gospel was being taught. They then came back to the United States and obtained teaching positions in major theological seminaries and divinity schools. They secured positions on the staffs of religious publishing houses and used their positions to influence the church literature toward socialistic ends.

The origin of this Social gospel was pagan from the very beginning. It was willing to sacrifice Christian faith to the so-called New Order. It assumed that man was essentially good and quite capable of solving his problems without outside or other-world help. It shifted faith from God to man, from eternity to time, from the individual to the group, from individual conversion to social coercion, and from the church to the state. God was torn down off His pedestal of Deity and man was elevated thereto. The historic creeds of all the major denominations of Protestantism were relegated to the scrapheap, which creeds and confessions taught the total depravity of man and supreme reliance on a supernatural Saviour for salvation.

Instead of converting people by evangelism the Social gospellers argued that they could be changed by giving them the proper social environment. Therefore, the obvious conclusion was that environment, not the individual, was responsible for human behavior.

The Social gospellers within the seminaries and the churches concluded that the Capitalistic system of the United States created a wrong environment because of its emphasis on competition and profits. It was labeled as being "unChristian." They then set out to aid the Marxists in changing the capitalistic system. They denied and are still denying that they are Communists. By this they mean that they have never joined the party.

That is true in many cases but in other cases it is not, for we now have sworn testimony given to the United States Congress by competent witnesses that many of the top Social Gospellers have been top-policy makers of the Communist Party in the United States.

Many of those who are in the ranks of the Social Gospellers deny that they are Marxists because they say they are against "violence" and that Communism is synonymous with the force or violence principle. Of course, the unsuspecting follower of these peddlers do not know that Marx's tactics were the tactics of the Social gospellers from the beginning — infiltration and education into the major phases of Society. They do not know that the force or violence principle did not come in until Lenin came on the scene in 1903, as head of the Social Democratic Party in Russia, and proposed the addition of the force and violence principle to the teachings of Marx in order to bring in the "perfect state of society" faster.

It is true that many of the Social gospellers are pacifists, but they will not hesitate to use the force of government to put over their ideas. In fact, they lobby

consistently before Government agencies in the name of "the Church" to try to force Socialistic theories over on the people. They are one-worlders as well, when it comes to government. They have stated that nationalism and sovereignty stand between God and the realization of His purposes, and that the church must use all its power to bring in a World Government to supplant our narrow national one!

These Social Gospellers put out textbooks for the church schools and colleges on the subject of: "The Social Teachings of Jesus." Their great champion near the turn of the Twentieth Century was a man by the name of Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch, a graduate of Colgate Rochester Divinity School whose own Hebrew professor testified against him concerning his radical views before a missions board, which refused to send him into the field.

Rauschenbusch in 1893 said, "If ever Socialism is to succeed, it cannot succeed in an irreligious country. It must start in the churches." He wrote his **Prayers for the Social Awakening** upon his return from England where he studied under the teaching of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, the Fabian Socialists who later brought England to her knees economically. He was convinced that Jesus was a Socialist and were He here today would be out in the picket lines marching with the workers in a demonstration against management and private ownership.

In 1908 the Social Creed of the Churches was written and adopted first by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Also, in that year, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America was founded and Walter Rauschenbusch was a guiding spirit in its founding. Many liberal protestant leaders in various denominations saw in this organization a chance to promulgate the Social Gospel on a nation-wide scale and so they rushed their denominations into membership in the Federal Council without consulting the man in the pew, who has often been termed "too theologically ignorant" to be consulted before such momentous decisions.

From 1908 until 1950 the Federal Council of Churches methodically carried out the program of the Social Gospellers. It elected as its heads and committee chairmen, men who were on record in their own published sermons and books as denying practically every major doctrine of Christianity while posing as "Christian" or "recognized Christian leaders." They never bothered to tell the public who "recognized" them as such. In truth, it became a mutual admiration society for Apostate ministers who delighted in their all-out attacks on the Deity of Christ while claiming piously and hypocritically to believe in his "divinity." "Divinity" then became defined as anything from a sweet syrupy white candy to an adjective to describe a crooning bobby-soxer as "simply divine"!

This organization put out pronouncements lambasting the profit motive, competition, business in general, while orating on anything from the glories of the collectivist system to the use of Hollywood style drama in the church worship services. They set up a lobbying office in the Nation's capital which was former Senator Hiram Johnson's home. They had their pacifist representatives rush over to the halls of Congress prior to Pearl Harbor and contend before committees

discussing National Defense that the church people of America opposed any measure that had to do with military appropriations. They saw in the New Deal a Government Angel to carry out by force their darling socialistic schemes. The Sunday school literature, youth publications, seminary textbooks became loaded with the glories of State Socialism. Whole Sunday school lessons consisted of nothing but how "the American people became convinced that it was the business of the Government to keep the individual from the cradle to the grave." Bible doctrine was conspicuously absent from the literature.

When newspaper writers, conservative and orthodox ministers, and even committees of the Congress began to expose the Social Gospellers as collected together in the Federal Council, these religious liberals who had assumed the self-appointed spiritual leadership of the nation began to cry: "Fascism! Fundamentalists! Reactionaries! Obstructionists! Supporters of the Status Quo! Literalists!" and many more names with evil connotations. When the Congressional Committees saw that the honeymoon with Red Russia was over and began to ferret out subversives within the United States, many a prominent self-styled "church leader's" name was uncovered as having aided and abetted the Communist conspiracy. They even were discovered in top government positions as advisors to Presidents on Foreign Policy and domestic affairs. Alger Hiss, the celebrated friend of the Red Conspiracy in the State Department, was also found to be chairman of one of the important committees of the Federal Council of Churches. The Federal Council itself took pride in boasting that it was responsible for the Acheson foreign policy and that it had conceived the idea of the United Nations. It claimed John Foster Dulles as one of its distinguished church leaders who was responsible for incorporating the Six Pillars of Peace of the Federal Council into the Dumbarton Oaks conference and later into the framework of the United Nations.

It gave official government atmosphere to its national meetings by inviting Harry S. Truman, Dean Acheson and other government officials to address it in assembly. Of course, the press and radio carried all of this until the Federal Council arrived at the point where it boldly claimed to represent "the Church" in all matters spiritual and material. This — while the vast majority of protestants were not giving their consent for any such utterances and did not even know what was going on in the name of Christianity.

In August 1948 the leaders of the Federal Council went to Amsterdam, Holland, and formed its body on a World-wide scale with the help of men like John Foster Dulles, Charles P. Taft, an Ohio lawyer and newspaper owner, and leading radicals from Union Theological Seminary, New York, which seminary had been classified in the official report of the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities in the State of New York, "as a dangerous center of Revolutionary Socialist teaching of a university type in ecclesiastical institutions," and which seminary also entertained Earl Browder, the head of the Communist Party, as a speaker to its student body, and which also had as one of its top professors for 25 years, a member of the Communist Party.

These liberals came back from Amsterdam after having accomplished several notable things: 1. They elected a Communist as president of the World

Council for all of Asia, Dr. T. C. Chao, who later welcomed the armies of Mao Tse Tung with joy and was given a position in the new Communist government of China. 2. They elected Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as President for North America, who testified under oath before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives on July 21, 1953, that he had been associated with nine out of fifteen commie fronts he was faced with; and who had worked with identified members of the Communist Party for over a period of 30 years! 3. Dr. John C. Bennett of Union Seminary wrote a resolution passed by the assembly in which Capitalism was condemned and scored because it had "been proven false"! 4. They elected at least two more Communists to their Central Committee, Dr. Joseph Hromadka of Prague and Bishop Albert Bereczky of Hungary.

One time while the President of the United States was speaking to the United Council of Church Women, the women's propaganda arm of the National Council of Churches, in Atlantic City, New Jersey, a prominent Social Gospeler who has made some of the vilest attacks on the Deity of Christ which have ever come to recent light, and an apologist for Marxism, was bringing morning "devotional messages" to the ladies in another hall. It was Dr. Nels F. S. Ferré, who stated in his book, *THE CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDING OF GOD*, that Jesus Christ COULD have been the illegitimate son of a blond German soldier stationed in a Roman garrison near Nazareth. He teaches that Jesus was born in Nazareth, although the Bible says he was born in Bethlehem. This Dr. Ferré, latest darling of the Social Gospelers, who puts all others in the shade, says in his book, *THE SUN AND THE UMBRELLA*, that men have been erecting umbrellas down through the years to hide the true Sun, and that these umbrellas are the Bible, the Virgin Birth, the Deity of Christ, the Blood Atonement, the Resurrection, and the Second Coming, and that we had better get rid of all of those umbrellas and get out in the Sun! What follows is Marxism pure and simple.

The Marxian Socialist, who openly avows he is one is no hypocrite! He boasts that there is no God, no Hell, no Bible but *The Communist Manifesto*, and no Saviour but MAN.

The Modernist-Radical-Socialist Theologian is the hypocrite. While using the name of God with his lips, he denies Him. His God is not the God of the Scriptures but the figment of the human imagination. While talking about "regeneration, salvation and being born again" he means the socialization of collective society by changing the economic system and the social environment through man's own efforts. While claiming to base his teachings on the Bible, he means the *Manifesto* and tries to eliminate the last vestige of Deity and the supernatural by putting out the latest revisions of the Bible under the shibboleth of "modern scholarship."

The Social Gospel has been challenged to produce its credentials, and it has none. It is a hypocritical, humanistic, paganistic philosophy which has its roots in the teachings of Marx and the skeptics of the ages, not in Jesus or the historic Christian Church.

In the Eighth chapter of the Gospel of John is found the familiar story of the feeding of the five thousand. This is a recorded miracle which Jesus performed from five barley loaves and two fishes. When the five thousand were full in their stomachs, they rushed upon Jesus and would have made Him their ruler if He had not disappeared out of their midst. Why did they rush upon Him with force so? Because man is basically the same in all ages despite his manner of dress, architecture and transportation. Unregenerate man in the first century was looking for an easy living without having to work for it and that is the type of candidate he will put up today if he can find one, someone who will give him material substance for nothing.

Jesus Christ, the son of God, did not come into the world for that purpose. He told this throng in John 6 verse 26, that they were not following Him because of the supernatural or divine, but because they got bread and fish for their stomachs and were filled with material food.

He then said in verse 27: "Labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of Man shall give unto you: for him hath God the Father sealed." And, in verse 29: "This is the work of God, that ye **believe on him** whom he hath sent."

They didn't like that, No, sir! When He claimed to be the living bread of God come down from heaven and told how that body would be broken and the blood spilled for the remission of sins, they turned back and followed Him no more. They would follow Him as long as He gave them something of the materialistic world but they wanted nothing of the Spiritual. They hated the doctrine of the blood atonement. They cried for His blood later on, but not as an atonement for sin. They wanted Him crucified, for they said they had no king but an earthly king, Caesar.

Those who followed Him as long as He gave them something for the physical body were later on standing in the streets below Pilate's Judgment Hall and screaming for His crucifixion. Their candidate had failed them! They wanted the more abundant life! What kind of abundant "life"? Spiritual? No. Material. They were the original Social Gospellers, who rejected the Son of God and His plan of Salvation.

Here are some documented figures concerning some of the Protestant clergymen who have aided subversive causes in the United States:

Methodists	— 2109
Episcopalian	— 1411
Congregational	— 1014
Baptist	— 660
Presbyterian	— 649

This is not all. There are nearly 2000 more plus a number of Jewish rabbis.

These people will not hesitate to attack any government agency or any individual who unmasks their hypocrisy and exposes their activity. They will use any smear device. They say, for example, that this is all "Roman Catholic propaganda" against the Protestants and that Communism is strongest in "Catholic countries." They say it is "Fascism" and that anyone who exposes

leftist clergymen are "Fascists." Intelligent Protestants do not swallow this propaganda but unthinking ones do.

When Dr. J. B. Matthews wrote his now famous article entitled "Reds and Our Churches" in the July 1954 edition of Mercury magazine, in which article he said "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen," he immediately brought down the wrath of the President of the United States, hundreds of self-styled liberal clergymen over the nation, the left-wing press and the Communist party upon his head. So great was the uproar that Dr. J. B. Matthews, who was then on the staff of the Senate Government Operations Committee, voluntarily resigned from the Committee after the minority members of the Committee had attacked him openly and had called upon Senator McCarthy, the chairman of the Committee, to get rid of him.

In the controversy which raged over Dr. Matthews' article one notorious factor had been omitted and that was the fact that Dr. J. B. Matthews is himself an ordained Methodist deacon, a graduate of two of Methodism's largest institutions, and a returned missionary from the Far East. This attack on Protestant Red collaborators was not made by someone of another religion, but by a Protestant himself.

When Herbert A. Philbrick, former under-cover spy for the F.B.I. within the Communist party in the State of Massachusetts, made his sensational statements in regard to communist infiltration of the clergy, and this given under oath to the Committee on Un-American Activities, no such hue and cry was raised by the self-styled liberals. Why did not these self-appointed religious vigilantes score Mr. Philbrick for such statements as the following, recorded in Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City area, part 5, dated July 6, 1953:

Mr. Philbrick — "I would like to state one other thing for the benefit of the Committee. First of all, I got into this Communist Party movement, completely by accident in the very beginning, because I was a Christian youth worker and very active in the Christian youth field. This is why the Communist party came to me in the very beginning. I looked like a first-class sucker to them, I suppose, interested in world peace, a pacifist, and so they invited me to join a wonderful pacifist organization, the Cambridge Youth Council.

"The Communist party has many levels of operations and many types of people who are members of the organization. I discovered many shocking facts during my nine years in the party, but I can say in all sincerity to this Committee the most shocking discovery I made during the entire period of time was this particular aspect of Communist infiltration, the fact that they were indeed not only infiltrating the Christian movement and using it, but were planting these hardened, disciplined communists who would pose as ministers of the Gospel. . . . I think it is of vital importance for this Committee or for someone to study the facts, to investigate the situation, and to reveal the most complete and most accurate information you can possibly present to the American people

in order that they may be warned, in order that they may not be victimized as they are now being victimized.

"In the Red Underground column in the Herald-Tribune which we are now printing every other week in the Sunday edition, week after week, information comes into us showing that the Communist party is having a vast amount of success in using church people. I am sure that this very vicious activity by the Communist party should be curbed. The only way I know it can be curbed is by publicly revealing the facts and warning the people of the United States to be on their guard."

You will notice that in this testimony Mr. Philbrick unequivocally states that Communism has penetrated the ranks of the clergy and that the Communists had a vast amount of success in using church people. He then went on to say that the only way he knew that this sort of thing could be curbed was by **publicly revealing** the facts and warning the people of the United States.

Now when Dr. J. B. Matthews proposed to do just this, that is to **warn publicly** the people of the United States and to present before the same Committee on Un-American Activities the thousands of photographed exhibits he has in regard to this conspiracy and a ten thousand word statement, what happened? At first the House Committee voted to give him a hearing. It was thought then that he would appear by September 1953. But September came and went and the months dragged by and no hearing was given to Dr. Matthews.

It was revealed subsequently by the Chairman of the House Committee, the Hon. Harold B. Velde of Illinois, that the Committee had voted to rescind its former action and not allow Dr. Matthews to be heard, by a vote of 5 to 4. One of the Republican members of the Committee joined with four members on the Democratic side not to give Dr. Matthews his opportunity to be heard.

Few people realize what is taking place behind the scenes. Extreme pressure has been brought to bear on the White House and upon members of the legislative branch of the Government to attack all individuals who would reveal the Communist Conspiracy in the ranks of the clergy, and to shut off all proposed hearings which have to do with communist infiltration in the field of religion. Thus, the green light has been given to the Kremlin apparatus to concentrate on church leaders and church people without any interference from the investigative committees of the Congress.

On March 26, 1947 the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities and gave testimony under oath in regard to communist infiltration of various phases of our society. On page 43 of his testimony he said as follows:

"I would have no fears if more Americans possessed the zeal, the fervor, the persistence, and the industry to learn about this menace of Red fascism. I do fear for the liberal and progressive who has been hoodwinked and duped into joining hands with the communists. I confess to a real apprehension so long as communists are able to secure ministers of the Gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism. I do fear so long as school boards and parents tolerate conditions whereby communists and fellow travelers, under the guise of academic

freedom, can teach our youth a way of life that eventually will destroy the sanctity of the home, that undermine faith in God, that causes them to scorn respect for constituted authority and sabotage our revered constitution."

In the February 1949 issue of Redbook magazine Mr. Hoover wrote an article entitled "God or Chaos." In this article Mr. Hoover stated flatly that Communist Party members were invading the churches, attempting to capture control of church boards and commissions, and had been successful in a number of instances. He said, "It is ghastly to see the monster atheism being nourished in the churches which it seeks to destroy. Many communist fronts have operated under the guise of some church commission or religious body. Church leaders can stop this nefarious infiltration by taking vigorous action in the boards and commissions under church supervision. Individual ministers and church members can avoid being hoodwinked if they will stay close to the fundamentals of their faith."

It is amazing, to say the least, why when J. Edgar Hoover made these statements in 1947 and 1949 the self-styled liberals, the left-wingers and the Communists did not attack J. Edgar Hoover in the same manner in which they have attacked Dr. J. B. Matthews, who simply reiterated what Mr. Hoover had already stated in previous years and which is known to all of the Committees of Congress which have been engaged in investigating subversive activity.

On the part of the general public and the church-going crowds in particular, there seems to be the idea that it is all right for Government Committees or Congressional Committees to investigate the Communist Conspiracy in government itself, in labor unions, in the educational field, in the entertainment world, and in press and radio, but it is a terrible thing to even suggest that the Communists might have penetrated the churches and are using religion to gain their ends. Because of this prevalent idea the Communists have found their most fertile field in religion.

Another misconstrued idea in the minds of the general public is that one has to be a card-carrying member of the Communist Party or a Bolshevik agitator with long red whiskers and a wild look in the eyes standing on a soapbox on a corner of Bughouse Square in Chicago or Columbus Circle in New York in order to be exposed as a Communist agent. The director of the F.B.I. and the various chairmen of Congressional investigative committees have stated time and time again that one does not have to be a member of the Communist Party in order to be aiding or abetting the Communist conspiracy in this nation. J. Edgar Hoover has said over and over again that we are not so much concerned with the hard core members of the Communist Party, who don't even carry cards anymore, but that we are concerned with the fact that for every actual member of the Communist Party, there are ten others outside the party ready and able and willing to do the Party's work. Mr. Hoover states emphatically, in his testimony before the Congress that "herein lies the greatest menace to the internal security of the United States."

Now let's take a simple problem in mathematics. Several years ago the President of the United States and the Attorney General, within the same week,

made the statement that there were only about twenty-five thousand hard core members of the Communist Party in the United States. This, on the surface, may seem to be authoritative coming from such two high officials in the Government. But, there is no way of knowing how many Communist Party members there are in the United States today, due to the fact that all membership cards were ordered destroyed by the party about 14 years ago when the Congressional committees began to intensify their exposés of the party's workings in this country. Actually speaking, there is no such thing as a card-carrying member of the Communist Party today because members don't carry cards any longer!

It can be stated emphatically that most of the clergymen of this country who have supported Communist causes fall within the ranks of the fellow travelers and party sympathizers. This does not mean that there have not been ministers and theological professors and writers of church literature who have not been hard-core members of the Communist Party for there is ample evidence given under oath to the Congressional committees and to the F.B.I. to prove that there have been hardened communist leaders among the ranks of the theologians.

In his testimony, given on March 6, 1947, page 38, Mr. Hoover says "the open avowed communist who carries a card and pays dues is no different from a security standpoint than the person who does the party's work, but pays no dues, carries no card and is not on the party rolls. In fact, the latter is a greater menace because of his opportunity to work in stealth." If what Mr. Hoover says is true, and we have no reason to believe that he is not telling the truth, then the fellow travelers and party sympathizers constitute the greater menace to the security of the United States than does the actual party member. Mr. Hoover goes on to say "fellow travelers and sympathizers can deny party membership but they can never escape the undeniable fact that they have played into the communist hands, thus furthering the communist cause by playing the role of innocent, gullible or wilful allies." In other words this is not determining guilt by **association** but guilt by **collaboration**.

One of the outstanding examples of a church leader who has collaborated with the communist cause is that of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, former President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Secretary of the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church, resident Bishop of the Washington, D. C. area, and President of the World Council of Churches for North America. The testimony of G. Bromley Oxnam, given before the Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1953, is now in print in an official government volume. As one reads this volume it is amazing to see how a self-styled church leader and voice of Protestantism has admitted under oath that he collaborated over a period of thirty years with people who have been identified as not only members of the Communist Party but policy makers of the party; and that he admitted under oath his association with some of the communist fronts out of fifteen that he was faced with by the committee. One of the Congressmen, who is a member of the committee which heard Bishop Oxnam, bent over backwards to be charitable to Dr. Oxnam and said that it looked as if the Bishop's name had been on the "sucker list." Dr. Oxnam has gone up and down the United States

using his high office in Protestant circles to attack not only the Committee on Un-American Activities since it gave him his hearing, which was not completed by any means but called to halt at the Bishop's own request, attacking the committee in the most vicious terms and singling out congressmen by name. He also attacked the other investigative committees on the Senate side and has attempted to smear such senators as the late Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, although the Senator had never investigated the Bishop.

Many hundreds of liberal churchmen and their liberal followers have joined in the chorus with the Bishop, although it could be most certainly proved that the majority of the people who follow as blind sheep neither attended the hearing in Washington nor have they read the official transcript of the hearing. All they have heard is the version given by the Bishop himself or his supporters from the public platform and through the machinery of the church organizations of which he is a part. Ministers names were prominent in the list of notorious leftists who recently published an ad in the Washington Post, calling for the abolition of the Committee on Un-American Activities at a cost of \$1066.05.

Again we refer to the words of J. Edgar Hoover that fellow travelers and sympathizers can deny party membership but they can never escape the undeniable fact that they have played into the Communist hands, thus furthering the Communist cause by playing the role of innocent, gullible, or wilful allies." In other words oftentimes it can be shown that a clergyman has aided the cause of the Kremlin conspiracy in this country by being an accessory after the fact or an accomplice!

Dr. John A. Mackay, former president of Princeton Seminary, the largest theological school of the United Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A., who was also president of the International Missionary Council and a member of the World Council of Churches, wrote a letter condemning the investigative committees of Congress and the exposés of the Kremlin conspirators in the United States. This letter by no means was received with relish by the majority of the Presbyterian clergymen and laymen. Many leading Presbyterian preachers and laymen scored Dr. Mackay and the entire letter which was written in the name of the General Council of the Presbyterian church, and registered their protests in caustic letters to newspapers and to the moderator of the church himself.

Dr. Mackay, along with other self-styled liberals, has made the charge that much of the testimony given before Congressional committees was made by ex-Communists who shouldn't be trusted and that their testimony is, therefore, worthless. This is the line of attack that those who have served the Kremlin conspiracy in the field of religion have been using in an attempt to discredit the testimony which has been given under oath to this committee. Please keep in mind that all testimony given before Congressional committees under oath is subject to the law against perjury. One does not readily find the accusers of those who testify before the committee asking for the privilege of getting before the same committee and assuming the same oath and telling under oath what was wrong with the witnesses' testimony. For some reason or other they simply want to stand off and use their clerical immunity to attack those who have given valuable testimony not only to the Congressional Committee but to the F.B.I.

in regard to the infiltration of the clergy. It is sort of like the coward who stands on the other side of a high steel fence shouting epithets at the person bigger than he on the other side. Many of these radicals in religious circles have used a clerical title or gown as a fence of immunity.

The American Legion magazine for March 1954 has an outstanding article entitled "Where Do We Stand Today With Communism In the United States," by J. Edgar Hoover. This article is in the form of questions presented to Mr. Hoover and his answers. On page 59 of this article we find the following questions: "Ex-Communists are held in low regard by some people who maintain that they shouldn't be trusted and their testimony is worthless. What is your experience with ex-Communists in this respect? Have these people to any great extent redeemed themselves by the help they have given you?"

Now here is Mr. Hoover's answer: "The assistance which ex-Communists have given to the F.B.I. has been invaluable. Having had their eyes open to the true nature of the Communist conspiracy, many of them have re-evaluated the privileges of American citizenship, and have realized the duties inherent in such citizenship, and through making a full disclosure to the F.B.I. of the information they possess, have made contributions of great value to the internal security of this country. The truth of their testimony has been verified by corroborating evidence. Many ex-Communists have been tested by vigorous and searching cross examination, and their opponents have been unable to contradict their testimony. Many of them have suffered ostracism, public rebuke and social distrust as a result of their breaking with the Communist Party and testifying against it. All religions teach that redemption is possible for any man who sincerely repents and seeks to make amends for his errors. The sincerity of a former Communist can be judged by his willingness to stand up and be counted and by taking positive action to attempt to rectify his wrongs. I am glad to see ex-Communists make their change of conscience and philosophy a matter of record, assume earnestly the responsibilities of good citizenship and join in the fight against the evil they formerly espoused, and I welcome the information which they can furnish."

It would seem from Mr. Hoover's testimony that former Communists are capable of redemption. Any clergyman who attacks the veracity of a former Communist's testimony should be immediately suspect in the public's mind, because of the fact that clergymen should be among the first to believe and preach Redemption.

The reason for the rapid inroads into the church field by Communist propaganda is that many ministers have departed from the great doctrines of historic Christianity and have turned to the preaching of what is termed the Social Gospel which includes the denial of the supernatural or miraculous and which embraces the socialistic and materialistic philosophy of Karl Marx. Many unsuspecting church people are duped into support of subversive movements through philanthropic drives and so-called "peace offensives."

Some of the most valuable testimony which has been given to date in regard to Communist infiltration into religious fields is found in parts 5, 6, 7 and 8 of Investigation of Communist Activities In the New York City Area. This

testimony has been given by three former top leaders of the Communist Party in the United States. These men were in the company of clergymen who helped to determine the policies which the Communist conspiracy would follow in our nation.

On page 2219 of this testimony, Mr. Manning Johnson, former top leader of the Communist Party in the United States, testifies as follows: "Through their agents, or through their operatives throughout the country they (the Communists) approach the person that they want on the different front organizations, and when they have compiled the complete list, then it is put on letterheads or other propaganda material and circulated.

"These lists of sponsors give the Communist Front organization a cloak of respectability. The more ministers they get on it the more respectable it is because the majority of the American people believe in God. They believe in the church, and when a member of the church endorses an organization or a movement, the people are susceptible to believe in it."

Here is a clipping from a leading newspaper in Wisconsin. The headline is: "Tells Parable As It Could Happen Today." The sub-title is "Pastor Paraphrases Good Samaritan Story in Sermon." Now here is the article:

Kaukauna — A "modern parable" paraphrasing the Biblical story of the good Samaritan, was the sermon topic of the Rev. George Buchanan at the Sunday morning worship service at the Methodist church. There was a certain citizen of Kaukauna, the pastor began, "driving to Green Bay when he saw a hitch-hiker and stopped to give him a lift. After riding together for a short distance the hitch-hiker forced the driver to stop the car, after which he hit the driver on the head with a blackjack, dumped him on the shoulder of the road, and drove the car away.

"A clergyman driving by saw his fellow citizen in need, but increased his speed as he drove by, excusing himself because of a meeting.

"A mayor drove by without aiding the unfortunate fellow, and said he would report the incident to the highway department.

"Finally, a certain Communist from a foreign country saw the man, stopped and administered first-aid, tearing his own shirt for bandages. He took the injured man to the hospital, paid for his care for several days in advance, and left his own name and address so the balance of the bill might be sent to him.

"Which of these three men would you say was a neighbor to the man in need?" the Rev. Buchanan asked. "The proper answer is the same one given to Jesus, 'the one who helped him.' Neighborliness is not defined by public office or religious affiliation, but by one's response to another's need," the pastor declared.

"There appear to be three philosophies of life demonstrated in this story, the hitch-hiker's philosophy is that of a thief, 'what's yours is mine if I can get it'; the clergyman's and the mayor's was that of an isolationist, 'what's mine is mine and I'll keep it'; and the Communist philosophy was that of a Christian, 'what's mine is ours and we'll share it.' "

This is a minister in a prominent church of a well-known denomination who has deliberately taken the Biblical story of the Good Samaritan out of its context and has made the Communist the hero of the parable. In other words, the minister is trying to convince his audience and the people who read the sermon in the newspaper that Christ put his approval on the Communist. The fallacy in this whole vicious twisting of the Bible story is that the Communist is not willing to take the shirt off his back and tear it up for purely humanitarian reasons! Surely the rape of Poland, of the Baltic countries, of Eastern Germany, of Korea, and all of China should prove to us that the Communist's intentions are not that of a good Samaritan! And then in his conclusion when he says that the Communist philosophy is the same as the Christian "what's mine is ours and we'll share it" is utterly stupid in the light of the facts. The Communists have taken everything they could get their hands on up to now by force, violence, deceit, treachery and subterfuge. This is certainly not Christian by the wildest stretch of the imagination!

Here is another piece of church literature entitled "The Classmate" for July 1947. It is a youth publication of the Methodist Church. In this particular edition is an article by one of the leading Communist Fronters of the nation, Dr. Jerome Davis, who was removed from the faculty of Yale University because of his Communist teachings. Now we find him writing Sunday School literature for the Methodist denomination in this issue of a youth magazine. The title of his article is "Joseph Stalin." In this article he says to us as follows: "It would be an error to consider the Soviet leader a wilful man who believes in forcing his ideas upon others. He went out to fight for justice for the people and he finally became Dictator of a country embracing one-sixth of the earth's land surface. No doubt he has serious faults. He loves power; he may have been ruthless in getting it. But can we go out to serve God and the common people of America as sincerely and courageously as Stalin did for what he believed was best for his people?"

This is a chapter lifted right out of the infamous communist propaganda book entitled "Behind Soviet Power," written by this same Dr. Jerome Davis. Here we find it in literature being distributed to young people in the Methodist Church. We can go one better than that. Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, when he was head of the Division of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Church bought 22,000 copies of Dr. Jerome Davis' book and sent them out free of charge to 22,000 Methodist ministers recommending this vicious piece of pro-Russian propaganda for their reading and not one word of criticism offered against it. In fact, Dr. Oxnam suggested that they read two other pieces of pro-Red propaganda along with it, one by Vera Michaelles, Dean of the Foreign Policy Association, and another article, "Soviet-American Relations," whose author, Bishop Oxnam revealed on the witness stand, was none other than the former Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles, who had been an officer in the National and World Council of Churches setup. In this article John Foster Dulles took some decided slaps at the capitalistic system.

Another example of Marxist propaganda is found in the Methodist Adult Student for June 1950. When one reads this it reads like something out of the

Communist Manifesto instead of Sunday School literature. The lesson for June 4th is an assault on so-called American big business corporations, such as Armour and Swift, Armstrong Cork, American Can and Continental Can and U. S. Steel. We have this gem of wisdom lifted almost verbatim out of the Communist Manifesto: "We must also keep in mind the fact that in one sense a profit represents an unpaid wage. Furthermore, even when profits go to stockholders, they go to a small number of people." Time would not permit for us to read all of these so-called Sunday school lessons but merely to mention that in these lessons an attack is made upon the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, the National Defense system, loyalty oaths, and the American Medical Association. Socialization of medicine is advocated, F.E.P.C. legislation is urged and seeds of distrust sown in regard to even the industrial-mobilization plans of industry in time of war. Some Sunday school lesson, isn't it?

On page 2094 of "Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York Area," Mr. Benjamin Gitlow, an original organizer of the Communist Party in the United States; it's Vice-Presidential candidate in 1924, and candidate for the Presidency of the United States on the Communist Party Ticket in 1928, testifies as follows: "Communist infiltration of the religious field aims to undermine faith in the American system. It seeks to subvert the religious spirit on the basis of social-economic creeds and seditious politics. It strives to poison the minds of religious people with a destructive, atheistic ideology, cloaked in the name of Social Action and religious interpretation based upon the Bible, that the religious agents of Communist infiltration are wont to call 'prophetic religion.'

On page 2,236 we are told by Mr. Manning Johnson, one of the witnesses before the committee, that one Communist writer stated in the Communist Protestant magazine for April-May 1942 that 'Marxism and Democracy and a liberal religious faith are as one.'

J. Edgar Hoover in Addressing the Daughters of the American Revolution in their 1954 national convention in Washington, D.C. stated emphatically that we are not so much concerned with the hard-core members of the Communist Party as we are with the self-styled **pseudo-liberals**. There are many who will deny that they are members of the Communist Party but they take great pride in designating themselves as "liberals." Mr. Hoover again reminds us that for every dyed-in-the-wool member of the party there are ten others outside the party ready and willing to do the party's work. Most of these claim to be "liberals" also!

One of the most amazing pieces of testimony in regard to the infiltration in the field of religion by the Communists is found on page 2142 of the testimony we have been quoting from. It almost makes one wonder if there is yet time to do anything. Mr. Leonard Patterson, a former top official in the Communist Party in the United States, is here testifying with Mr. Robert Kunzig asking the questions:

"Mr. Kunzig — I would like to ask you one further question. Did you ever see any examples of young ministers sent out to churches by the Union

Theological Seminary who were Communists?

Mr. Patterson — Yes.

Mr. Kunzig — Would you describe that to the committee?

Mr. Patterson — Yes. While I was in Baltimore, two members who had graduated from Dr. Ward's seminary came down to Baltimore for assignment to their ministerial duties, and at the same time they came down for their assignment for their Communist duties from the section committee of the Baltimore section of the Communist Party. When they came down for their ministerial assignments they also came down for their Communist Party assignments from the section committee of the Baltimore section. They were party members when they got there. They explained that they were recruited as party members by Dr. Ward while they were studying under him."

Mr. Johnson here is referring to Dr. Harry F. Ward who has been identified by all witnesses throughout the testimony as a member of the Communist Party. Dr. Ward was called the architect for the infiltration of Communism into the field of religion by Benjamin Gitlow. It should be noted here that Dr. Harry F. Ward was not only a teacher but also an employer of G. Bromley Oxnam; and that many of the leaders in the present National and World Council of Churches have either studied at Union Theological Seminary, or have been advised by leaders of that seminary or have had some connection with it. Union Seminary has been labeled by the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of New York in its official report in 1920 as a dangerous centre of revolutionary radicalism of the Bolshevik type. According to the Committee of Un-American Activities in "100 Things You Should Know About Communism," this same Union Seminary has entertained Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party as a featured speaker.

You will notice that in this portion of the testimony the names of the ministers who left Union Seminary and went down to Baltimore to report for their church assignments and also for their Communist Party assignments were not identified by the witness. However, in the Chicago Daily Tribune of Friday, March 26, 1954, part 1, page 5, we have a very interesting story. It begins with the headline "Pastor Admits He Lied About Red Party Ties." This story out of Baltimore concerns the testimony of the Rev. Joseph S. Nowak, former pastor of the Portage Park Presbyterian Church in Chicago. Mr. Nowak admitted under oath that he had joined the Communist Party and he also disputed the testimony of the Rev. John A. Hutchinson who, before the same committee a few days before, had denied having anything to do with Communists and Communist front organizations when he was in Baltimore. Rev. Nowak testified to the fact that both he and Hutchinson were the two individuals which Mr. Patterson referred to in his testimony just read. Hutchinson's case has been turned over to the Justice Department for prosecution for possible perjury.

The Baltimore activities of the Rev. Nowak and the Rev. Hutchinson were described by Earl C. Reno, Communist Party organizer in Baltimore from 1936 to 1937, and Leonard Patterson, who was the Young Communist League director in Baltimore during the same period.

Reno said the Rev. Nowak and the Rev. Hutchinson came to Communist Party headquarters in 1935 and said they had just been graduated from the Union Theological Seminary in New York where they had been well grounded in Marxism.

If there were space for one entire volume of testimony we would not be able to scratch the surface of the documentation which has been given under oath to the committees of the Congress in regard to the Communist infiltration of the church system.

In January 1957 the Church League of America published Volume 20, No. 1, of its monthly publication, NEWS & VIEWS, entitled, "The Ghost of Judas Walks In Hungary." This issue of NEWS & VIEWS was read into the Congressional Record in its entirety by Congressman Alvin M. Bentley, of Michigan, who had served his country in the diplomatic corps in several countries which are now behind the Iron Curtain. He knew the situation in those countries well and he also knew the names which were referred to in this January 1957 article.

In this article is chronologically detailed the influence of the National and World Councils of Churches in helping to promote the Communist cause within countries which have been taken over by the Communists. No fact in this issue can be challenged. It shows how the leadership of the same National Council of Churches, which called for the seating of Red China in the United Nations and the recognition of that Red regime by our own government, also brought Communist leaders from the Eastern Satellite nations of Europe into this country and put them on the speaking platform although they had been identified as agents of the Soviet Secret Police and puppets of the Red regimes in their own respective countries, serving their Communist masters well in the religious field.

If you want to know whether or not certain leaders of the National and World Councils of Churches have aided the Communist cause, then you should turn to the pages of **The Worker**, the mouthpiece of the Communist Party in the United States, and also to the radical left-wing "Christian" Century, which is published in Chicago.

Watch their editorial writers lavish fulsome praise as the radical religious leaders call for such things as recognition of Red China, the weakening of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act, and the launching of attacks on the Investigative Committees of the Congress and the Military Defense Program of the United States.

When self-styled American church "leaders" will journey to Moscow and sit down with a Major General of the Soviet Secret Police, Georgi Karpov, who is also head of Church Affairs in the U.S.S.R.; when they will walk across Red Square arm in arm with the religious agents of the atheistic Communists and then come back to the United States and tell us that there is a great "religious revival" going on in the Soviet Union, then it is time for the faithful members of the clergy, and especially the lay people who pay the bills, to divest them-

selves of such false leadership and bring about a religious revolution such as that which took place in 17th Century England.

Here is an important word from J. Edgar Hoover, as found in his testimony of March 26, 1947, page 33, before the Committee on Un-American Activities: "The aims and responsibilities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are the same — the protection of the internal security of this nation. The methods whereby this goal may be accomplished differ however.

"I have always felt that the greatest contribution this committee could make is the **public disclosure** — of the forces that menace America — Communist and Fascist. . . . This Committee renders a distinct service when it **publicly reveals** the diabolic machinations of sinister figures engaged in un-American activities."

Mr. Hoover tells us that the F.B.I. cannot publicly disclose these people. That weapon is held in the hands of the investigative committees of the Congress. We must hold high the hands of the men who are publicly revealing and exposing the names of those who hide behind the mask of government worker, educator, labor leader, entertainer or clergyman, and use their position to undermine the foundations upon which is built the greatest nation the world has ever known. A true American does not fear Congressional investigation, because he can say: "I have never been associated with the Communist Conspiracy in the United States."

When a clergyman denies that there has been any penetration of religious groups by Communists, or by Communist propaganda, then look upon that one as either ignorant of the facts, or of being in one of the three classes of individuals aiding the Communist cause: Party member, sympathizer and fellow traveller, or just plain dupe.

In answer to a letter submitted to him by a lady whose pastor laughed at the idea that there had been successful Red penetration of church groups, Matt Cvetic, famous FBI undercover man for 9 years within the Communist Party, replied:

"It is difficult for me to comment on 's actions. I can only stand on my sworn testimony that as a member of the Clergical Commission of the Communist Party I helped to infiltrate the churches when I posed as a Communist for the F.B.I.

"As far as Orthodox ministers from behind the Iron Curtain, and that includes Yugo-Slavia, every one I ever met was a secret Red agent. If anyone wants proof of this, I'll be happy to give it to them. Of course, this does not include the clergy who came here before the Reds took control.

"I don't know why some of our Church leaders blind themselves to known facts. I met in secret meetings with Red clergy; on occasions we would use Church meeting houses for our secret Communist meetings. The meeting, for example, where Steve Nelson made the report on 'Why It Was Necessary to Murder 20,000,000 People in China' was read in the meeting house of the Unitarian Church on Rasaca Place, Northside Pittsburgh."

(signed) Matt Cvetic

Recommended Reading

Books

Collectivism In The Churches	Bundy, Devin-Adair, 1958
The Church In Soviet Russia	Spinka, Oxford, 1956
Communism and Christianity	D'Arcy, Devin-Adair, 1957
God's Underground	George, Appleton-Century, 1949
The Road Ahead	Flynn, Devin-Adair, 1954
The Secret World	Deriabin & Gibney, Doubleday, 1959
Masters of Deceit	Hoover, Holt, 1958

Hearings of House Committee On Un-American Activities

- "Communist Persecution of Churches In Red China and North Korea," March 26, 1959
- "100 Things You Should Know About Communism"
- "Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications"
- "The Communist Peace Offensive"
- "Investigation of Communist Activities In the Baltimore Area"
- "Hearings Regarding Communist Activities In the Cincinnati, Ohio Area — Part I"
- "Testimony of the Rev. Stephen A. Fritchman"
- "Hearings Regarding Jack R. McMichael"
- "Testimony of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam"
- "Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York Area, Parts 5, 6, 7, 8"
- "The Menace of Communism — Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover"
- "The Methodist Federation for Social Action"
- "The Kremlin's Espionage and Terror Organizations — Testimony of Petr S. Deriabin"
- "Issues Presented by Air Reserve Center Training Manual"

Hearings of Subcommittee on Internal Security, U. S. Senate

- "Communist Controls On Religious Activity"

Joint Committee Investigating Seditious Activities in the State of New York
Lusk Report, Four Volumes

Articles

- "God or Chaos," Reprint from February, 1949 issue of Redbook Magazine, J. Edgar Hoover

- "The Communists Are After **Your** Church," reprint from Christian Herald, Herbert A. Philbrick
- "Communism In the Churches," reprint by Church League of America, Dr. J. B. Matthews
- "Communists In Our Churches," article in "The Big Decision," Matt Cvetic
- "God and Country or Communism," American Legion Magazine, November, 1957, J. Edgar Hoover
- "Secrets of Secret Police," Life Magazine, March 23, 1961
- Opinion of New York State Court of Appeals, No. 132, Saint Nicholas Cathedral of the Russian Orthodox Church of North America vs. Wassil A. Kreshik, as Dean of Saint Nicholas Cathedral, & ors.
- "Communist Deception in the Churches," Joseph Zack Kornfeder, Circuit Riders
- "Uncertain Trumpets," Congressman Donald L. Jackson, Remarks on Thursday, March 3, 1960, U. S. House of Representatives
- "Admission of Certain Czechoslovak and Hungarian Churchmen as Delegates to World Council of Churches Conference," Remarks of Congressman Alvin M. Bentley, Thursday, July 22, 1954, U. S. House of Representatives
- "Reds and Our Churches," Dr. J. B. Matthews, American Mercury, July, 1953
- "Clergymen are Citizens, Too!," Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Saturday Evening Post, April 24, 1954
- "And He Says He's a Christian!," Ernest O. Hauser, Saturday Evening Post, April 22, 1950
- "Communist Activity in American Religious Bodies," Rev. Edward B. Wilcox, American Legion Seminar, Washington, D. C., 17-20, November, 1947
- "The Communist Party Line in the Churches," Dr. Carl McIntire, Constitution Hall, Washington, D. C., May 8, 1953
- "Trusting in the Spirit," William Howard Melish, THE WITNESS, June 11, 1953
- "Some Facts About the Communist Apparatus," Dr. J. B. Matthews, Freedom Forum, Harding College, October 23, 1953
- "How Radical Are the Clergy?," Dr. Carl McIntire, Christian Beacon Press
- "Russian Orthodoxy, A Captive Splendor," Patricia Blake, LIFE, September 14, 1959

Periodicals, Newsletters and Pamphlets

- NEWS AND VIEWS, Church League of America, Wheaton, Illinois, \$5.00 per year
- "Christianity or Communism?," Edgar C. Bundy, Church League of America
- "How the Communists Are Penetrating Our Churches," Edgar C. Bundy, Church League of America
- CHRISTIAN BEACON, Box 218, Collingswood, New Jersey
- Affiliations of 660 Baptist Clergymen, Circuit Riders

Public Records of 1411 Protestant Episcopal Rectors, Circuit Riders

Public Records of 2109 Methodist Ministers, Circuit Riders

Public Records of 614 Presbyterian Ministers, Circuit Riders

Public Records of 42% of the Unitarian Clergymen and 450 Rabbis, Circuit Riders

Certain Activities of Certain Congregational Clergymen (1014), Church League
of America

Lesson No. Ten

1. Name three authorities who have given documented testimony concerning Communist penetration of religious groups.
2. How can a minister support atheistic communism when it is the antithesis of supernaturalism?
3. What was the plan of the Bolsheviks for taking over the churches in Russia and in capitalistic countries? How has it worked?
4. What is the Social Gospel?
5. What is meant by the term "recognized" Christian leaders as used by the old Federal Council and, now, the National Council of Church Leaders?
6. What role did Alger Hiss play in the Federal Council of Churches?
7. Identify: T. C. Chao, Harry F. Ward, John C. Bennett, G. Bromley Oxnam, Joseph Hromadka, Nels Ferré, Herbert A. Philbrick, Dr. J. B. Matthews, Matt Cvetic.
8. What is the difference between "guilt by association" and "guilt by collaboration"?
9. There are three classifications of individuals who help the cause of Communism. What are they? Into which classification do most ministers fall who have aided the Communist Conspiracy?
10. What is the main difference in **method** between the FBI and Congressional Investigative Committees for protecting American internal security?
11. What common foundation do Communism and Modernistic Theology have?

CHAPTER XI

COMMUNIST FRONTS, THEIR HISTORY AND PURPOSE

The real purpose of Communist fronts and their importance to the Communist conspiracy is still widely misunderstood. Even the Communist Control Act of 1950 makes a rigid distinction between Communist **action** organizations, which are under the control and direction of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and the world communist organization, and Communist **front** organizations which are under the control and direction of Communist action organizations.

A Communist front may be defined as one which is ostensibly set up and operated for some worthy and altruistic purpose or cause but which nevertheless was secretly created for a specific Communist objective and is manipulated or controlled by secret Communists or pro-Communist sympathizers. Some forty years of highly successful experience in this country have made the Communist front a most invaluable auxiliary to the Communist conspiracy.

J. Edgar Hoover in his book **MASTERS OF DECEIT**, page 228, gives the following definition of a Communist Front:

"Fronts probably represent the Party's most successful tactic in capturing non-communist support. Like mass agitation and infiltration, fronts espouse the deceptive Party line (hence the term "front") while actually advancing the real Party line. In this way the Party is able to influence thousands of noncommunists, collect large sums of money, and reach the minds, pens and tongues of many high-ranking and distinguished individuals. Moreover, fronts are excellent fields for Party recruitment.

"A Front is an organization which the Communists openly or secretly control. The Communists realize they are not welcome in American society. Party influence, therefore, is transmitted, time after time, by a belt of concealed members, sympathizers, and dupes. * * *"

The Sub-committee on Internal Security of the United States Senate in its "**HANDBOOK FOR AMERICANS — The Communist Party of the United States**," page 90, describes the front organization:

"A Communist front organization may be broadly described as an organization formed at the initiative of the Communist Party of the United States or another country or the Communist International (Cominform) and operating under Communist instruction for the accomplishment of one or more current aims. The actual aim of a Communist front is not openly stated but is concealed behind a high-sounding and attractive reform objective. * * * A front can be local, national or international in its scope.

Lenin called fronts the "transmission belts" to large masses of workers and non-Communists who otherwise could never be directly reached or influenced by the Communists. Stalin quoted Lenin in one of his books as saying, "The dictatorship cannot be realized without 'belts' to transmit power from the vanguard (i.e. the Communists, ed.) to the masses of the advanced class, and from this to the mass of those who labor."

Willi Muenzenberg, a leading German Communist in the early '20's first convinced his Kremlin bosses that large masses of the German middle and lower class could be reached and exploited only through fronts. Comintern officials at first were skeptical that the bourgeoisie could be flim-flammed into supporting organizations which really worked towards their own destruction. Muenzenberg proved that it could be done by setting up a dazzling variety of cultural and other fronts which, while they were not openly pro-Soviet or Communist, at least disseminated a camouflaged and deodorized distillate of the party line. Fronts could also be used to divide, confuse, demoralize, and divert non-Communists so that no strong or effective anti-Communist centers or movements could be started.

Otto Kuusinen, a former secretary of the Comintern, speaking at a plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) stated:

"The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well, above all, mass organizations sympathizing with our aims, and able to aid us for special purposes. . . . We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party, so to speak, smaller organizations working actually under the influence of our party."

It has been estimated that there have been over a thousand Communist fronts set up in the United States since the mid-twenties. A few of the original fronts, notably the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, are still in existence. Most Communist fronts are set up for temporary issues and disappear as soon as the issue at stake has been settled. Others are designed as semi-permanent snares for youth, women, those seeking international peace, intelligentsia, racial problems, labor, and other sections of our population.

All Communist fronts are concerned with foreign policy — Soviet foreign policy. In the early '20's the first fronts were devoted to "HANDS OFF SOVIET RUSSIA" propaganda. Next came the anti-imperialistic type of front as a result of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern's Thesis on the Colonial Question in 1928. This thesis, in brief, laid down the line for all Communists that stirring up nationalist revolts in the colonies of European colonial powers was in effect building a healthy fire in their backyards and weakening them economically and politically vis-a-vis the Soviets. Any colonies successfully detached from the European powers left them that much weaker internally and strengthened the Soviets relatively. At least, the economic resources and manpower of the severed colonies could no longer be thrown into the fight against Communism. There was also a good chance that some of the newly independent states would

fall into political and economic chaos and hence be pushed more easily into Communism.

About 1930 the Communists began to spread their fronts into the cultural field in order to ensnare the intellectuals, artists, writers, scientists, and professions. A special drive was made to trap writers and Hollywood stars. Guilds and associations in the art, literary, publishing, and theatrical worlds were infiltrated. The success of the Communists in these fields was phenomenal and far beyond their rosier expectations. When the suggestion to infiltrate cultural fields was first broached and discussed in top C.P. circles the idea was ridiculed on the grounds that any child knew that it was impossible to make social revolutionaries out of well paid intellectuals and artists.

It was pointed out, however, that the purpose was not to recruit revolutionaries to man the barricades but to tap vast reservoirs of easy money and, secondly, to exploit the big name artists, adored by millions, into lending their names to Communist (but disguised) enterprises. Just as a plug for some commodity by a Hollywood star would stimulate large sales so would the favorable nod of a Hollywood celebrity toward some party project give it enormous prestige and advertising.

Dr. J. B. Matthews, while checking the bank accounts and annual receipts of a number of fronts when he was Director of Research for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, found that in a single year the fronts in question had collected over \$10 million dollars. His list was far from complete. It was well known that the Communist Party collected a fixed percentage of the incomes of its members and those making over \$100 a week were expected to kick back at least ten percent if not more. A Hollywood writer or Broadway star making more than \$50,000 a year could be expected to contribute at least \$5,000 of his capitalist income to the Communist conspiracy.

Although motion pictures were still in their infancy in Lenin's time, the Father of Bolshevism had sensed the importance of films to the advance of social revolution. Speaking to Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education, Lenin told him, "You must always consider that of all the arts the motion picture is for us the most important." Muenzenberg picked up the cue and in 1925 he wrote in the *Daily Worker*:

"We must develop the tremendous cultural possibilities of the motion picture in a revolutionary sense. . . . One of the most pressing tasks confronting Communist parties in the field of agitation and propaganda is the conquest of this supremely important propaganda weapon until now the monopoly of the ruling class. We must wrest it from them and turn it against them."

American Communists took Lenin and Muenzenberg at their word and the drive to wrest the movies from the "ruling class and turn it against them" was underway by 1928. The story of Communist infiltration into Hollywood has been effectively chronicled in several good books and most effectively documented by testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. See bibliography of selected reading at the end of the chapter for original sources too voluminous to condense or summarize in this chapter.

While Hollywood was the main cultural target of the Communists for thirty years, the publishing field, both book and magazine, the theatre, including the Federal Theatre Project during the depression, Broadway stage, and radio were not overlooked or neglected. Eugene Lyons' "The Red Decade" is the best single source of information on this phase of Communist penetration of American cultural life.

Many of the Communists who are today prominent and highly successful along Broadway got their start 25 years ago in the Federal Theatre Project. In order to alleviate widespread unemployment and want among theatrical professionals, the Federal government in 1935 set up the Federal Theatre Project. Harry Hopkins, a close White House advisor to President Franklin Roosevelt, selected a Mrs. Hallie Flanagan to head the tax-supported project.

A fair idea of Mrs. Flanagan's political orientation can be gathered from her writings. In a book **Shifting Scenes** Mrs. Flanagan wrote:

"The task of these actors, drawn from many provinces and fields of labor, is to build a theater which shall draw a vast audience unaccustomed to theater-going, in the principles of communism. The struggle which Russia is making for a universal culture is bigger than anything that you say about it."

In the magazine "Theatre Arts Monthly" for November, 1931, Mrs. Flanagan wrote that:

"The theatre being born in America today is a theater of workers. Its object is to create a national culture by and for the working class of America. Admittedly a weapon in the class struggle, this theater is being forged in the factories and mines."

The plays which Mrs. Flanagan's Federal Theatre Project produced and showed around the country certainly were "weapons in the class struggle." Approximately twenty-five million people saw F.T.P. plays. Some of them were so scandalous that Congress called for an investigation and the entire project of setting up a new national culture along Communist lines was knocked on the head by the simple device of cutting off its Federal funds. Nevertheless, the virus poison of Moscow had been injected directly into the main blood stream of the American theater and its effects were to linger to this day in a well entrenched Fifth Column in the entertainment field.

In addition to serving the Soviets as indirect and second hand distributors of the U.S.S.R.'s foreign policy line, collecting vast sums of money annually for Communist causes and enterprises, and acting as transmission belts between the Communist apparatus and great masses of non-Communists, the fronts serve another and far more sinister purpose. There is a great mass of evidence, ever since the sensational Soviet spy disclosures in Canada in 1945, that fronts are used by underground communists to contact, size up, and if possible, recruit into espionage networks individuals of possible use in Soviet espionage.

One of the Canadians uncovered by the Royal Commission on Espionage testified under oath that he had first been contacted after he became interested in the Chinese Relief Committee, the League Against War and Fascism, and

the Spanish Relief Committee. First he stuffed envelopes and did routine, harmless office work for what he thought was a worthy cause. From there he moved to musicales and cocktail parties which threw him into intimate contact with some very charming people. Before he knew what had happened he was deeply and hopelessly involved in spying against his country for the Soviets. (See Page 435 et seq. Report of the Royal Commission, Ottawa, 1946.)

Dr. Matthews, while on the Dies Committee, interviewed a young American whose tragic story has never been published. It should serve as a warning and lesson to all who light-heartedly dabble with Communist fronts. Mr. "X," as we shall designate him, graduated from a state university bursting with zeal to do something for the unemployed. He became active in a local Unemployed Council. He never joined the Communist Party. Imperceptibly and over a period of time he was, as the Communists phrase it, "developed" into an underground espionage agent.

His parents were immigrants from Europe. Because he also spoke their language, his Communist spymasters sent him to the country from which his parents came. With an American passport and a young bride totally unaware of his sinister role he posed as a student at a university. One night soldiers with fixed bayonets smashed into his apartment and arrested him. Tried and convicted as a Soviet spy he spent four terrible years in a dungeon. One can imagine the shock to his bride in discovering that her clean cut young American husband was a Soviet spy. Mr. "X" told Dr. Matthews his bitterest hour came when he peered through his dungeon bars close to the waterfront and saw the ship carrying his broken-hearted wife back to the United States. He was lucky in being an American. Had he been a citizen of the country against which he was spying, he probably would have been shot.

Finally, Communist fronts serve as havens and supply jobs to many Communists who might otherwise have to engage in useful toil. As all fronts share one common characteristic of pretending to be devoted solely to humanitarian and altruistic causes, Communists connected with such fronts can reject with well simulated indignation any insinuations that they might be communists or radicals.

How To Identify Communist Fronts

There are a number of litmus paper tests which, if applied to a questioned organization, either turn a bright red or, if the organization is non-Communist, a clean white.

1. **The Worker, Peoples World**, or other known Communist periodicals first announce the birth of or lavishly praise the new organization.
2. The organization's literature, tickets, petitions, and other printed material carry the same printer's label number or "bug" as that of Communist or front organizations.

3. The new organization's leaflets, appeals, and other literature is on display in known Communist bookshops or other places under Communist control.

4. Despite its avowed objectives, usually the noblest and loftiest in human idealism, the organization nevertheless covertly slips over some specific Communist line objective once in a while.

5. Paid advertisements and notices of the organization appear in the Communist press or in Communist periphery publications. Often such advertisements are a device for transferring the front's funds to the communist apparatus.

6. The new organization is sponsored and supported by individuals and organizations themselves of an unquestioned front character. Analyzing such lists of sponsors they usually break down into three categories: 1. A few known Communists. 2. A larger number of well known fellow travelers. 3. A "padding" or window dressing of dupes and innocents whose names carry respectability in the community and who often are blissfully and totally unaware of the Judas Goat roles they have been inveigled into playing.

7. The full time salaried positions as distinguished from the honorary top officialdom of "big names" are usually held by obscure and unknown people who are either willing stooges of the Communists in the background or are secret Communists.

8. The organization, regardless of its avowed objectives, is actively and vigorously supported by unions known to be Communist controlled or under substantial Communist influence. The exact degree of Communist interest in a particular suspect organization is often revealed by the amount of publicity and praise bestowed on it by unknown Communist fronts and unions.

9. The dread word "Communism," like rope in the hangman's house, is never mentioned. While the organizations' officials may be highly articulate and vocal on the subjects of fascism, Nazism, the Ku Klux Klan, Wall Street "imperialism" and reactionaries in general, they are strangely silent when the subject of Communism is brought up; nor, is the Soviet Union ever criticized even mildly and indirectly by any of the organization's officers. In other words, "Red-baiting" is frowned upon.

10. Unlike most other new organizations struggling to get on their feet, Communist fronts spring up overnight fully-armed and full-fledged like Minerva. Office furniture, willing help, supplies, postage money — all seem to be on hand almost with the first announcement of the organization's birth.

11. Just as their spontaneous generation usually defies the laws of probability, so does their sudden and often mysterious demise bewilder those in close touch with its affairs. For example, the American League for Peace and Democracy, probably the biggest front ever operated in this country with a **claimed** membership of seven and a half million, was quietly choloformed one night in 1940 in a New York cafeteria by six top officials. A sudden change in the party's line made its liquidation imperative.

12. Does the organization, as a matter of "broadminded principle," invite known Communists to address it but at the same time rejects on one pretext or another ever inviting known anti-Communists?

13. Is the organization's office or headquarters in a building which also houses known Communist fronts?

14. Does the organization use entertainers at its social functions with known front records?

15. Does the organization use the same halls and meeting places used by known Communist fronts?

16. Does the organization furnish financial statements, and, if so, are they by unknown public accountants or by public accountants who also serve known Communist fronts?

17. Does the new organization use the mailing lists of known fronts in soliciting members or in disseminating its printed material? Anti-Communist experts who code their mailing addresses for Communist material often note that material received unsolicited from new and unknown organizations are addressed with the tell-tale addressograph "slug" used by some other Communist front.

The September 30, 1956 issue of the **Daily Worker** frankly announced that several "mass organizations" (fronts) were being discontinued because of the vicious harrying tactics of the government. Comrades working in fronts were directed to infiltrate PTA's, peace organizations, religious, fraternal and other organizations in order to penetrate more deeply and safely into all strata and levels of American life.

As a result a new and amorphous form of front has appeared during recent years. These take the form of large, full-page, paid advertisements in newspapers demanding the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, asking for presidential clemency for some convicted Communist, or urging some other particular item in the party line. The advertisement, while it carries hundreds of prominent names, lists no organization or address, or contributions and signatures are solicited by one individual using his home or a post office box as an address. This might be called "decentralization of the fronts."

Those with military training will understand why the Communists have adopted this new tactic. When troops in military formation reach the front or zone of fire they spread out, make themselves as unobtrusive as possible, hug the ground and in other words "melt into the scenery." Now under heavy legal fire in this country and with fronts fairly well exposed Communists are also "blending into the scenery."

In the main, the Communist Party line is now carried forward in any organization or publication within which secret Communists and sympathizers are able to operate.

Space limits make it impossible to include a separate chapter on Communist espionage. There is a considerable library of government reports as well as books by private individuals on this subject. They are appended separately in a bibliography at the end of this chapter.

Recommended Reading

Government Reports and Pamphlets

- "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," House Comm. on Un-American Activities, 1957, Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
- "The Communist Party, USA, A Handbook for Americans," Senate Internal Security Sub-committee, 1956, Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
- "Communist Tactics in Controlling Youth Organizations," Senate Internal Security, Sub-committee, 1952.
- "Subversive Infiltration of the Radio, Television and Entertainment Industry," Senate Internal Security Sub-committee, 1952.
- "Hearings on Communist Infiltration of the Motion Picture Industry," House Comm. Un-American Activities, 1947.
- "Communist Infiltration of Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry," House Comm. Un-American Activities, Parts I to X, 1952.
- "Communists Methods of Infiltration (Entertainment)," House Comm. on Un-American Activities, 1954.
- "Red Channels," American Business Consultants, N. Y., 1950.
- "Stalin's Fifth Column on Broadway," Schaffer, Rand School Press, 1940.

Magazine Articles

- "Did the Movies Really Clean House?" J. B. Matthews, **American Legion Magazine**, December, 1951.
- "How the Communists Make Stooges Out of Movie Stars" Combs, **American Legion Magazine**, May, 1949.
- "Communist Record in Hollywood" Carlson, **American Mercury**, Feb., 1948.
- "What Makes a Hollywood Communist?" English, **Saturday Evening Post**, May 19, 1951.
- "Federal Theatre for the Masses" Garrett, **Saturday Evening Post**, June 20, 1936.
- "New York's Great Red Way" Hartnett, **American Mercury**, June, 1953.
- "It was Smart To Be Red" Lyons, **Saturday Evening Post**, Dec. 9, 1939.

Books

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| A Guide to Anti-Communist Action | Bouscaren, Regnery, 1958 |
| The Red Decade | Lyons, Bobbs Merrill, 1941 |
| The Cry Is Peace | Budenz, Regnery |
| Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler | Matthews, Mt. Vernon Publishers, New York, 1938 |

Soviet Espionage and Underground Activity

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>"The Shameful Years, 30 Years of Soviet Espionage in the United States"</p> <p>"Soviet Atomic Espionage"</p> <p>"Kremlin's Terror and Espionage"</p> <p>"Patterns of Communist Espionage"</p> <p>"Scope of Soviet Activity in the U. S."</p> <p>Webb of Subversion</p> <p>Shanghai Conspiracy</p> <p>Seeds of Treason</p> <p>The Net That Covers the World</p> <p>Spies, Dupes & Diplomats</p> <p>Secret War for the A-Bomb</p> <p>Age of Terror</p> <p>The Atom Spies</p> <p>Handbook for Spies</p> <p>In Stalin's Secret Service</p> <p>Out of the Night</p> <p>Report of the Royal Commission</p> <p>The Case of Col. Petrov</p> <p>Soviet Espionage</p> <p>Out of Bondage</p> <p>This Deception</p> <p>Masters of Deceit</p> <p>The Soviet Secret Police</p> <p>Assassins at Large</p> <p>Empire of Fear</p> <p>Total Terror</p> | <p>House Comm. Un-American Activities, 1951, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.</p> <p>Joint Atomic Energy Comm., 1951, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.</p> <p>Senate Internal Security Sub-Comm., 1959, Government Printing Office.</p> <p>House Comm. Un-American Activities, 1959, Government Printing Office.</p> <p>Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, parts 1-90, 1956-57, Government Printing Office.</p> <p>Burnham, John Day Co., N. Y., 1954.</p> <p>Willoughby, Dutton, N. Y.</p> <p>DeToledano & Lasky, Funk & Wagnalls</p> <p>Cookridge, Holt & Co.</p> <p>DeToledano, Duell, Sloan, Pearce, 1952.</p> <p>Evans, Regnery, Chicago</p> <p>Paul, Beacon Press, Boston.</p> <p>Pilat, Putnam, 1952.</p> <p>Foote, Doubleday, 1949.</p> <p>Krivitzky, Harpers, 1939.</p> <p>Valtin, Alliance, 1940.</p> <p>Government Printer, Ottawa</p> <p>Bialoguski, McGraw-Hill</p> <p>Dallin, Yale University Press, 1955.</p> <p>Bentley, Devin-Adair, 1951.</p> <p>Massing, Duel, Sloan, Pearce, 1951.</p> <p>J. Edgar Hoover, Henry Holt.</p> <p>Wolin & Schlusser, Praeger, 1957.</p> <p>Dewar, Wingate, London, 1951.</p> <p>Petrov, Praeger, 1956.</p> <p>Kalme, Crofts-Century, 1951.</p> |
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Lesson No. Eleven

1. How would you describe a communist front to distinguish it from all other organizations?
2. Why do Communists set up fronts?
3. Can you name at least six well known Communist fronts?
4. Hollywood has been singularly effective in repelling Communist fronts. True or false?
5. There are at least fifteen or more tell-tale tests which reveal whether or not an organization is a Communist front. Can you name at least five?
6. If you were asked to join an organization whose announced objectives met with your approval, what would you do to avoid being hooked on a possible Communist front?
7. A Congressional committee has published a handbook on Communist fronts. What is its title?
8. Read at least one title of appended list on Soviet espionage and prepare a 250 word book review on what you learned.

CHAPTER XII

THE WORK OF THE F.B.I. AND THE CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES

In the Federal Government of the United States there are two organizations interested fundamentally in the investigation of the problem of internal subversion. One is the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which is a section of the Department of Justice under the authority of the Executive Branch of the government. The other is the investigative committee of the Congress. There are two such committees: one in the United States Senate and the other in the United States House of Representatives. Various states have had, from time to time, committees of investigation.

Unless one is familiar with the limitations of the F.B.I. in the field of investigation and security, he is not able to understand the necessity of having these investigative committees of the Congress. Let us take a look at these organizations.

The F.B.I. is the private detective arm of the Department of Justice. Its files are secret, and they are not at the disposition of the public. The Bureau gathers information through the medium of special agents who are located throughout the United States, with offices in major cities. The information obtained is analyzed by the headquarters of the F.B.I. in Washington, D. C. and cataloged.

Whenever Mr. Hoover, the Director of the F.B.I., deems it necessary he can send a report to his superior, the Attorney General of the United States, or to whatever section of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government entitled to receive such information. The Bureau cannot give information to the Congress unless permission is granted by the President of the United States, or the Attorney General.

From time to time J. Edgar Hoover has made public statements, or has written articles in general terms for magazines or publications concerning problems of security. Also, he has presented testimony before the committees of the Congress on special occasions.

The F.B.I. is not even permitted to make recommendations. Here are the words of J. Edgar Hoover:

The FBI does not make recommendations; it merely reports facts and it is up to the interested Government department to make a decision. Almost invariably, of course, subjects of investigation deny affiliation with subversive groups, often despite strong evidence to the contrary.

The following is a case in point:

The FBI submitted a 57-page report to the Federal Security Agency on March 7, 1942, on Doxey Wilkerson. The investigation recorded interviews with persons who stated he was a member of the Communist Party. Following the submission of the report we were advised by the Federal Security Agency that further investigation failed to show that Wilkerson was subversive or "disloyal to our Government." Wilkerson subsequently transferred to OPA and resigned on June 19, 1943. Within less than 24 hours he announced his new job as "a Communist Party organizer." He was subsequently appointed a member of the national committee of the Communist Party. To be eligible for service in the national committee one "must have been a member of the party in continuous good standing for at least 4 years."

Here is a concrete case in which the F.B.I. went as far as its jurisdiction would permit. The agency which employed this man was advised that he was a Communist; but it refused to accept the information of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, thus a subversive continued working in the Federal Government for eighteen more months after the F.B.I. sent its original warning, and the hands of the Bureau were tied as far as taking any further action in the case.

There is even another more alarming case in the records of the Federal Government. Shortly after Herbert Brownell was appointed Attorney General by President Eisenhower he revealed before a public audience in Chicago that President Truman had tolerated in his administration, despite the warnings of the F.B.I., a notorious communist agent by the name of Harry Dexter White.

Mr. Brownell stated that while White was serving as Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury Department, and that while White was involved in more than thirty important positions on committees and commissions of the United States Government, the F.B.I. had sent information to the White House which revealed that White was an agent in the highest category of the International Communist Conspiracy. Brownell declared that President Truman had done nothing to remove White from his post, despite the F.B.I. warning, but that he, rather, elevated White to the position of director of the International Monetary Fund, with millions of dollars at his disposal.

The major American newspapers published Mr. Brownell's statements in bold headlines all over America. Reporters interviewed former President Truman in Independence, Missouri. Mr. Truman asserted that the accusations of Mr. Brownell were not true; that no such thing had occurred; and that this was a political smear from the new administration.

Naturally, both Mr. Truman and Mr. Brownell could not be right. The conflict was resolved when Mr. Brownell, as Attorney General, ordered J. Edgar Hoover of the F.B.I. to appear before the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security, and present the facts concerning the Harry Dexter White case.

Mr. Hoover testified that not only had the F.B.I. sent one warning to President Truman concerning White, but that the Bureau had sent several warnings and all of these were acknowledged by the White House. Shortly after these events, White committed suicide.

Here are two examples of how the F.B.I. has carried on its work in exposing subversives in government, itself, within the limits of its jurisdiction. Voluminous testimony given to the Congressional investigative committees shows that oftentimes the reason why subversives were not removed from government positions, after their department heads were warned by the F.B.I., is because the warnings were handled by these very subversives, themselves, or by friends who were trying to protect them.

In all cases, the hands of the F.B.I. were tied.

From time to time one will hear the naive statement made by unlearned individuals: "Let the F.B.I. do the job. Why do we need Congressional Committees, with all the attending publicity, to investigate alleged subversive activity?"

These same individuals will also state erroneously that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has "cleared" such-and-such an individual or organization.

The F.B.I. is not permitted to issue clearances of any type to individuals or organizations, despite what anyone might say. Therefore, American citizens can save themselves time and effort by not writing to the F.B.I. and asking the F.B.I. whether so-and-so or blank organization has been cleared or cited. Here is a letter from Mr. Hoover stating unequivocally that the Bureau cannot issue clearances:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

March 26, 1956

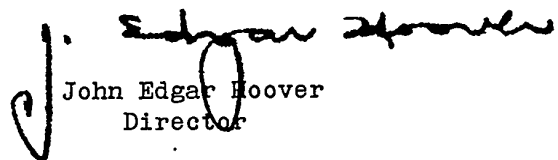
Mr. Wayne Murphy
Research Director
National Americanism Commission
National Headquarters
The American Legion
700 North Pennsylvania Street
Indianapolis 6, Indiana

Dear Mr. Murphy:

Your letter dated March 20, 1956, your reference 111108:111, has been received. In accordance with your request, it is a pleasure to furnish you with the following statement which you may feel free to publish in your publication, "The Firing Line."

It is not within the prescribed authority of the FBI to issue clearances of any type to individuals or organizations. This Bureau is required to make information in its files and identification records available to governmental agencies entitled to receive such data. In carrying out its responsibilities in this regard, the FBI submits this information without comment or recommendation concerning the person or organization involved.

Sincerely yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

The limitations of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the field of security demonstrate clearly the necessity for maintaining the investigating committees of the United States Congress. They are able to do what the F.B.I. cannot do. The committees are despised by subversive elements more than any other security organization in the nation. Why?

The answer to this question is very simple. The committees have the facilities for exposing subversive elements and holding private and public hearings concerning their activities. All subversives despise the investigative committees because they do not want their subversive activities exposed by the committees to the American public, including the people who employ them. Their means of livelihood can be cut off, and this will restrict their support of individuals and organizations seeking to destroy the American form of government.

See what Mr. Hoover has to say concerning the necessity of maintaining the investigating committees of the Congress:

The aims and responsibilities of the House Committee of Un-American Activities and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are the same — the protection of the internal security of this Nation. The methods whereby this goal may be accomplished differ, however.

I have always felt that the greatest contribution this committee could make is the public disclosure of the forces that menace America — Communist and Fascist. That is why the venom of the American Communist and the now defunct German-American Bund has been directed at this committee as it has also been directed at the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This committee renders a distinct service when it publicly reveals the diabolic machinations of sinister figures engaged in un-American activities.

Please observe that Mr. Hoover put the emphasis twice on the word "public," signifying that here is the difference in methods between the F.B.I. and the Congressional investigating Committee. The F.B.I. is not able to make public the data concerning subversive elements or organizations, but the Congressional Committees are able to do this. The committees are empowered to subpoena witnesses to testify, under oath, to record the testimony, and to have it published in documented form, so as to permit the American public to see and to read the actual evidence concerning subversive activities of individuals and organizations.

In an exclusive article written for NEWSWEEK magazine, June 9, 1947, J. Edgar Hoover reiterates the importance of the Committee On Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives:

"There is renewed interest in Congress as manifested in the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives. As this committee fulfills its obligation of public disclosure of facts it is worthy of the support of loyal, patriotic Americans. This committee has for its purpose the exposure of un-American forces and as such its files contains voluminous information which, when used with discretion, provide an excellent source of information. The FBI, unlike this committee, must of necessity keep the contents of its files confidential.

"Citizens also should be alert to what is happening in their own circles. Do they have an intelligent, participating interest in the programs of organizations to which

they belong and of schools which their children attend? What kind of people do they elect to public office? Are there disloyal people on the public payrolls?

"It is the right and responsibility of every citizen to insist on having public servants whose first loyalty is to the American way of life. One disloyal local, county, state or Federal employe can do irreparable harm by acts of disloyalty or by indoctrinating others with a Marxian philosophy."

The American public may also attend the open hearings of the committees and hear the testimony of the witnesses, or their refusal to testify concerning membership in subversive organizations, or their activities on behalf of subversive causes. Representatives of the press, radio and television, can also carry these proceedings to the American public, although, because of limitations of space and time, these media of communication do not always carry the full story. Copies of the complete hearings may be purchased by anyone from the Government Printing Office for only a few cents, or free copies may be obtained by writing to a member of the Congress.

The congressional hearing is not a court of law. The committees are not empowered to clear or find guilt. All the committees do is to compile a public testimony, under oath. If there is evidence that perjury has been committed by the witnesses — lying while under oath — the testimony passes out of the hands of the Congress (the Legislative Branch) and to the jurisdiction of the Justice Department (Executive Branch), which studies and determines whether or not the individuals should be indicted for perjury.

If the Justice Department determines that perjury has been committed, it can then impanel a Federal Grand Jury, which, in turn, can bring in a federal indictment, so that the individuals who perjured themselves, can be tried in a federal court.

Again, it should be emphasized that the Congress does not indict nor clear. Only the Department of Justice, as a part of the Executive Branch can do this.

It was not the F.B.I. which discovered Alger Hiss, a Soviet agent working in the Department of State. It was the Committee on Un-American Activities which held a hearing and took the testimony of Mr. Hiss and his friends and the testimony of the government witnesses. The testimony did not agree. It was sent to the Department of Justice which analyzed all the details of the case, and after further investigation discovered that Hiss had lied. Hiss was indicted, tried in a federal court, found guilty, and sentenced to five years in the Federal Penitentiary.

But, of what was he found guilty? Of being a traitor to the United States? No. Of lying while under oath.

Mr. Hiss' conviction was appealed from the lower federal courts up to the highest court of the land, the United States Supreme Court.

The conviction of Mr. Hiss was upheld by all of the courts.

Despite the overwhelming evidence, as produced by the Congressional Committee and the courts of the United States, there are yet some individuals

in high opinion-molding positions in all spheres of American society who believe that Mr. Hiss was innocent and that the Congressional Committee did nothing but smear Mr. Hiss.

It is obvious that one cannot reason with such obstinate mentality!

The weapon of revealing publicly the names of traitors and subversive elements is the most effective device which security organizations possess. This is what the communists, their sympathizers and dupes fear more than anything else.

If the American public becomes acquainted with the names of subversive individuals exposed by Congressional Committees, then the public will not pay the salaries of such individuals nor permit them to hold positions of responsibility in which they can exercise strong influences over others and extend their subversive activities.

The communists and their allies have obtained positions of influence in all the major spheres of American society. This has been testified to by J. Edgar Hoover and other high security officials over and over again before the committees of the Congress and in public statements. They have infiltrated such circles as labor, art, literature, radio and television, government, entertainment, education, newspapers, and churches.

Notice, for example, what Mr. Hoover said in his testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives on March 26, 1947 concerning the infiltration of communists and communist sympathizers in religious and educational institutions:

"I would have no fears if more Americans possessed the zeal, the fervor, the persistence, and the industry to learn about this menace of Red fascism. I do fear for the liberal and progressive who has been hoodwinked and duped into joining hands with the Communists. I confess to a real apprehension so long as Communists are able to secure ministers of the gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism. I do fear so long as school boards and parents tolerate conditions whereby Communists and fellow travelers under the guise of academic freedom can teach our youth a way of life that eventually will destroy the sanctity of the home, that undermines faith in God, that causes them to scorn respect for constituted authority, and sabotage our revered Constitution.

Here is the testimony of Mr. Hoover concerning the infiltration of labor unions and he tells what should be done about this infiltration:

I do fear so long as American labor groups are infiltrated, dominated, or saturated with the virus of communism. I do fear the palliation and weasel-worded gestures against communism indulged in by some of our labor leaders who should know better, but who have become pawns in the hands of sinister but astute manipulators for the Communist cause.

I fear for ignorance on the part of all our people who may take the poisonous pills of Communist propaganda.

I am deeply concerned whenever I think of the words of an old-time Communist. Disillusioned, disgusted, and frightened he came to us with this story and concluded:

'God help America or any other country if the Communist Party ever gets strong enough to control labor and politics. God help us all!'

The Communists have been, still are, and always will be, a menace to freedom, to democratic ideals, to the worship of God, and to America's way of life.

I feel that once public opinion is thoroughly aroused as it is today, the fight against communism is well on its way. Victory will be assured once Communists are identified and exposed, because the public will take the first step of quarantining them so they can do no harm. Communism, in reality, is not a political party. It is a way of life — an evil and malignant way of life. It reveals a condition akin to disease that spreads like an epidemic and like an epidemic a quarantine is necessary to keep it from infecting the Nation.

It should be noted that Mr. Hoover reveals that subversive elements ought to be identified and exposed to public curiosity. He also states that communism is not a political party; it is a sickness.

Individual Americans can never hope to understand how communism works within a free society if they try to treat communism and the communist party as a genuine political party or movement. When will the American public learn these facts? It is obvious that they will not learn them as long as individuals in opinion-molding positions, who are not acquainted with the true facts concerning how communism works, continue to say dogmatically that communism is not a threat within the United States because there are not many communist party members; or, if these same leaders continue to attack the F.B.I., the congressional investigating committees and all those individuals and organizations who use the statements of J. Edgar Hoover and the hearings of the committees to show that communism is working, like a deep-seated cancer, in all phases of American society.

People who oppose communist ideology, and talk against it in general terms, are in a secure position when it comes to personal attacks and abuse. The moment an individual begins to cite specific names, locate these individuals in responsible positions, and reveals this information to the general public, then he immediately becomes the target of vicious attacks, character assassination, and a storm of abuse, be he congressman, business executive, or ordinary laborer. Various prominent members of the United States Congress have either been driven to their death, or have been forced to retire to private life because they dared to do, through love of country and of liberty, what Mr. Hoover has urged all Americans to do.

When Mr. Hoover appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on March 26, 1947, he warned the members of the committee that there were three classifications of people who aid the Communist Party in their objectives.

He also warned that anyone who opposed the American Communist would at once become the target for abuse. Here are his words:

... You who have been members of this committee also know the fury with which the party, its sympathizers and fellow travelers can launch an assault. I do not mind such attacks. What has been disillusioning is the manner in which they have been able to enlist support often from apparently well-meaning but thoroughly duped persons.

Anyone who opposes the American Communist is at once branded as a "disrupter," a "Fascist," a "Red Baiter," or a "Hitlerite," and becomes the object of a systematic campaign of character assassination. This is easily understood because the basic tactics of the Communist Party are deceit and trickery.

It has been well said by those in our federal security agencies who have been fighting the communist menace for years that if one wants to be effective in the fight he must have a cast-iron stomach.

The Subcommittee on Internal Security of the United States Senate published hearings entitled, "Interlocking Subversion In Government Departments," dated July 30, 1953, in which the committee pointed up the breakdown of loyalty machinery within the Federal Government:

"The subcommittee sought to determine precisely what aspect of the loyalty machinery failed, and allowed so many Soviet agents to remain in positions of influence in the United States Government in the face of impressive derogatory security information. The sub-committee reviewed the evidence with a view toward determining this. There is ample evidence that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other agencies learned the underlying facts of the Communist conspiracy and time and time again performed their duty and notified the proper administrative agencies of this information.

"The Chambers information on Alger Hiss, as we set forth above, was known to the Federal Bureau of Investigation some years before 1945. The Nixon memorandum reveals that by November 1945 there were three distinct sources of information on Hiss' connection with the Communist underground — Gouzenko, Bentley, and Chambers — and yet, it was not until after the House Un-American Activities Committee had its hearings in 1948, 3 years later, that any action was taken on the Hiss case. This same inactivity was apparent in the cases of other persons mentioned as Communist agents in the 1945 Nixon memorandum, namely, Harold Glasser, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, Edward J. Fitzgerald, Harry Magdoff, and others. These people stayed in their jobs, received promotions, and influenced policy for several years after impressive information had been marshalled.

"In the case of this subcommittee's inquiry into American citizens at the United Nations, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in virtually all the 26 cases, had transmitted derogatory information to the proper authorities in the State Department years earlier. These people had also appeared before a Federal grand jury in New York which had this derogatory evidence. Yet, it was not until the Internal Security Subcommittee brought this information forth in its public hearings in the fall of 1952, that any action was taken to remove these obvious security risks from their positions of trust and influence.

"It is the function of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to uncover and compile security information and make it available, without evaluation and without recommendation, to the proper executive agencies. The Federal Bureau of Investigation cannot expose and cannot force action once it has reported the results of its investigation. This fact is basic in the understanding of the function performed by a congressional committee.

"The breakdown in the loyalty machinery, encountered in this series of hearings, was basically not in the detection of evidence. Primarily, the breakdown came in the failure of the responsible executive agencies to act on the information which was available.

"There is a mass of evidence and information on the hidden Communist conspiracy in Government which is still inaccessible to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and to this subcommittee because persons who know the facts of this conspiracy are not co-operating with the security authorities of the country."

The weapons of free men are knowledge and spiritual truths. Communism cannot thrive in a society where the people are enlightened as to the strategy and tactics of the enemy; and, especially when he is exposed to public view.

It is a good idea, when one hears an individual attacking the F.B.I. or the investigative committee of the Congress to challenge him to go under oath before a Congressional Committee, and state his criticisms, while being subjected to the law against perjury. One will find that there will not be any who will accept the challenge. People of this type would rather hide behind the cloak of such shibboleths as "academic freedom," "religious freedom," "freedom of the press," or "freedom of speech" rather than be held accountable legally for the false statements they make.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the House Committee on Un-American Activities constitute the strongest bulwarks, within the Federal Government, against the insidious infiltration of communism into our American nation.

Recommended Reading

Government Reports and Pamphlets

"The House Committee on Un-American Activities — What It Is — What It Does"

"The Menace of Communism — Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover," House Committee on Un-American Activities

Annual Reports of the House Committee on Un-American Activities

Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover before the House Committee on Appropriations, March 6, 1961

"Where Do We Stand Today with Communism in the United States?", J. Edgar Hoover, American Legion Magazine, March, 1954

Books

The FBI Story

No Wonder We Are Losing

The Committee and Its Enemies

Whitehead, Random House, 1956

Morris, The Bookmailer

Buckley, Putnam, 1962

Lesson No. Twelve

1. Name some of the spheres of American Society which Communists have penetrated.
2. What are the two most important investigative committees of the U. S. Congress which hold hearings on subversion?
3. What is the difference in method between the FBI and the Congressional committee in dealing with subversives?
4. Who was Harry Dexter White?
5. Does the FBI issue clearances on individuals and organizations?
6. What government agencies can cite organizations as being subversive?
7. What recommendations can the FBI make in its reports to government departments concerning security risks or alleged subversives?
8. What is the purpose of holding a Congressional hearing involving subversive activity?
9. What one thing, which the Congressional committees have the power to do, is feared the most by Communists, fellow travelers and dupes?
10. What kind of "anti-communist" does the Communist seldom bother to attack?

CHAPTER XIII

BRAINWASHING — COMMUNISM'S ULTIMATE CRIME

The sinister expression "brainwashing," while now in common use in the English language, is still widely misunderstood. Much of its horrible connotation has been reduced, or even eliminated, by confusing it with indoctrination or forcible persuasion in western world frames of reference. Brainwashing and its even more terrible concomitant, brainchanging, is a diabolic new Communist perverted form of psychiatry.

Whereas psychiatry seeks to heal and restore a troubled and deranged mind, Communist brainwashing is designed and practiced to unhinge and reshape the human mind to respond automatically and surely to Pavlovian conditioned reflexes. Such few Communist brainwashers who boasted to or confided in their victims, who later escaped to the West, proudly called themselves "brain engineers."

Edward Hunter, who first brought the word to this country in 1950 from China, states that it was born out of the sufferings of Chinese people who had undergone such brain altering treatment. They realized that they had undergone something new in human experience akin to witchcraft or black magic toggled out in present day scientific terminology. Hunter, who had been a correspondent in China for years and was a dedicated anti-Communist, interviewed a number of escapees from Red China.

Several times during weeks of interviews with scores of Chinese he noticed that several of them shuddered when they referred to "hsi nao," which the interpreter translated to "brain washing." The full horror of his discovery burst on Hunter — Chinese Communists were not only "liquidating" millions of "class enemies" but they were also practicing mass menticide, something even the Russians had never gotten around to doing.

Trained anti-Communist experts had long dismissed the Moscow purge trial "confessions" as obtained partly through prolonged psychological torture, partly through drugs and partly through a form of mental hypnosis. The fact that veteran old Bolsheviks, some of them associates of Lenin, voluntarily confessed in open court to crimes it would have been impossible for them to have committed was attributed to some form of secret police black magic. However, none of those who made these remarkable Moscow confessions ever escaped to the West so no clinical cases were ever available for scientific study. They were immediately put to death after their incredible confessions, or they disappeared into Siberian "isolators," never to be heard from again.

Just what diabolic and monstrous techniques the Soviet secret police used to extort confessions from their victims, and even to get some of them to plead for the death penalty, remained largely guesswork until Weissberg, an Austrian physicist and Stypulkowski, a Pole, escaped from Russia after World War II. Both had been given the full course of brainwashing treatment and their books, **The Accused** by Weissberg, (Simon & Schuster) and **Invitation To Moscow** by Zbigniew Stypulkowski (Thames & Hudson, London, 1951) are probably the two best sources of first hand accounts of brainwashing.

Also highly readable and moving is Louis Ruff's **The Brainwashing Machine** published in London in 1960 by Robert Hale. Ruff's description of what he called the "magic room," used by Communist brainwashers, is one of the best first accounts available to us. The room in which he spent weeks was pleasantly furnished but everything was distorted. The walls were not parallel. The bed was irregular in size and sloped towards the foot end. Two revolving lamps cast eerie shadows across crazily painted walls. Bed, table, chairs, night-table were made of some sort of plastic material which reflected all the colors of the rainbow which the revolving ceiling and table lamps endlessly threw around the room. The carpet was pale orange but the ceiling was a deep rich blue. Crazy spirals and futuristic art decorated the walls, all in the most vivid colors.

Day and night a concealed loudspeaker piped into the "magic room" sounds like the surf breaking on a distant shore, the sound of dripping water, of a woman's moans and weeping, sounds which bore no relation to each other but which were obviously designed to create a sense of unreality. Motion pictures were projected on a screen on one wall. The pictures were either lewd and obscene or they were completely irrational. A hand holding a cigarette tossed away the butt and the hand detached itself from the body and drifted off into space. Giant human toes, detached from their feet, marched across the screen. A man walked off a balcony and into space. A bald headed man scratched his head, his fingers penetrating right into his brain.

After days of "conditioning" the sinister Dr. Nemeth entered the magic room and began his fiendish and elaborate process of "mental reform." He was friendly, intimate, confidential, but devilishly persistent in his probing into Ruff's sub-conscious. Ruff was entirely in his hands. He had nothing to fear — provided he did not resist. He did not have to worry about torture or mistreatment. That was for louts and primitives. Intellectuals and sensitive people had to be handled differently.

Ruff finally felt himself going insane, so to save what was left of his sanity he went berserk, smashed everything he could in the "magic room" and was removed in a strait jacket and sent to a sanitarium and later to prison. The same Dr. Nemeth, who tried to brainwash Ruff, also "conditioned" Cardinal Mindszenty for his sensational show trial.

The Mindszenty trial shocked a blasé world. That a Communist commissar like Rubashev in **Darkness at Noon** would break and confess to crimes he had nothing to do with was one thing; but that a prince of the Catholic

Church, a steel hard anti-Communist, and man of deepest devotion and piety, could be molded and reshaped mentally into a mumbling, apologetic and pliant tool of his Communist persecutors was hard to believe. **Readers Digest** reputedly spent a fortune and exhausted every journalistic resource to get the truth. That Cardinal Mindszenty had been brainwashed was obvious — but how?

An American naval officer, Duane Thorin, captured in Korea was put through the Communist brainwashing machine. He survived to relate his experiences in the highly readable novel **A Ride to Panmunjom** (Regnery, Chicago, 1956).

Meerloo, an eminent Dutch psychologist and wartime Chief of the Psychological Department of all Netherlands Armed Forces, in his **Rape of the Mind** has probably one of the best summaries of how Cardinal Mindszenty was brainwashed. The victim is inadequately and irregularly fed. He is allowed very little sleep or rest. When he is allowed to lie down bright lights glare down on him 24 hours a day. Interrogation, known to Soviet brainwashers as the “treadmill” is kept up continuously, around the clock, days and weeks on end. Some drugs are administered under pretext that they are sedatives. Meerloo wrote:

“To the horrors the accused victim suffers from without must be added the horrors from within. He is pursued by the unsteadiness of his own mind, which cannot always produce the same answer to a repeated question. As a human being with a conscience he is pursued by possible hidden guilt feelings, however pious he may have been, that undermine his rational awareness of innocence. The panic of the ‘brainwashee’ is the total confusion he suffers about all concepts. His evaluations and norms are undermined. He cannot believe in anything objective any more except in the dictated and indoctrinated logic of those who are more powerful than he. The enemy knows that, far below the surface, human life is built up of inner contradictions. He uses this knowledge to defeat and confuse the ‘brainwashee.’ The continual shift of interrogators makes it even more impossible to believe in consecutive thinking. Hardly has the victim adjusted himself to one inquisitor when he has to change his focus of alertness to another one.”

Every form of degradation is employed to reduce the victim to a grovelling semi-animal. General Farkas of Hungarian secret police committed unmentionable acts on the beaten and prostrate Janos Kadar, present Communist Dictator of Hungary, when Rakosi ordered him “broken” for confession extorting purposes. Food is mixed with filth and shoved into the victim’s cell in a dog dish. The central core of all brainwashing techniques is to render the victim totally hopeless, totally despondent, and to rob him of the last lingering vestige of self-respect, dignity and integrity. Over and over and over it is drummed into the victim’s reeling mind that neither God, prayer, international law, his own government, or any human agency can save him only Communist “compassion and mercy” if he does as they demand.

America also had its own Cardinal Mindszenty in the person of Marine Corps Colonel Frank H. Schwable. The Marines have a well-earned reputation for toughness, yet Colonel Schwable broke completely and signed a confession to having first hand knowledge of something that never existed — U. S. use of germ warfare in Korea. Col. Schwable was put through the “conveyor belt” of

endless interrogation. He was subjected to every conceivable humiliation, degradation, to hunger, cold and exposure, physical neglect, filth, vermin.

Week after week the theme was pounded into him that he was alone and totally helpless in the iron grip of the mightiest force in the world — World Communism. That neither his country, which thought it was the world's greatest military power, nor God, nor international law nor anything could save him. If he thought he could wear down his endless chain of interrogators, he was crazy, they had all the time in the world.

Col. Schwable was outwitted by the Communists. Full of important military secrets, Schwable was fearful that he might break down and betray some of them to end his torment. When the Chinese inquisitors insisted that all they wanted was an admission the United States was dropping germ-laden rats and bugs on the helpless Korean people, the Marine Corps Colonel thought he saw an "out." Why not confess to something as ridiculous as that because no one, not even the Communists themselves, would ever believe it anyway. So he made his confession before a panel of international Communist scientists and the Communist radios of a dozen countries broadcast the story to the far corners of the world. After that the Communists left Col. Schwable alone. It was only after he returned to this country to face court martial proceedings that Col. Schwable realized the enormity of his mistake and the full horrible revelation of what the term "brainwashing" really meant.

Lest anyone think harshly of Col. Schwable, remember that an official Army investigation after the Korean War showed a very high percentage of collaboration with the enemy on the part of American P.O.W.'s ranging from one in three to one in seven of all those captured by the enemy. This was the first war in which not a single U. S. prisoner was able to escape. Thirty-eight percent, 2,730 out of a total of 7,190, died in captivity — the highest death rate of any of our wars. Twenty-six American boys elected to remain with the enemy rather than to return to their families and homeland — another first in U. S. military history. Four days after our ground forces went into action in Korea, an officer of the 24th Infantry Division, captured by the Communists, made a 900 word broadcast over the radio in behalf of the enemy. The Army was dumbfounded — there was no doubt about identifying the officer's voice.

In all other wars American soldiers captured by the enemy **acted as Americans**. In fact the Germans and Japanese reported that of all the nationalities they took prisoner, the Americans were the noisiest, most irreverent, intractable, and the least cooperative. **This did not happen in Korea!** For the first time in our history our soldiers found themselves fighting against an entirely new type of enemy — Communists — fighting an entirely different form of war behind the lines and in dealing with POWS. It is true, that some American troops were engaged in minor skirmishes with early Bolsheviks around Murmansk and Vladivostok in 1918-19. A Michigan regiment succumbed to Communist propaganda on the Murmansk front, refused to fight, and had to be brought home.

Major William E. Mayer, and other authorities on just what happened to our POWS in Korea, is positive that neither torture nor brainwashing, as the

experts define the term, was used on any but a very small number of American boys in Communist hands. Mayer discounts torture and drugs as responsible for the very curious behavior of so many Americans captured by the Chinese Communists. Fortunately, we captured a document in Korea, a report by the Chief of Intelligence of the Chinese "Volunteer" Forces in Korea to his superior in Peking which, while never intended for American eyes, was most revealing — and disturbing. It analyzed American troops as follows:

"The American soldier has weak loyalty to his family, his community,, his country, his religion and to his fellow soldier. His concepts of right and wrong are hazy and ill-formed. Opportunism is easy for him. By himself he feels frightened and insecure. He underestimates his own worth, his own strength, and his ability to survive. He is ignorant of social values, social tensions and conflicts. There is little knowledge or understanding even among U. S. university graduates of American political history and philosophy, the federal, state, and community organizations, states and civil rights, freedoms, safeguards, checks and balances and how these things allegedly operate within his own system.

"He is insular and provincial with little or no idea of the problems and the aims of what he contemptuously describes as foreigners and their countries. He has an unrealistic concept of America's internal and inherent rather than earned or proven superiority and absolute military invincibility. This is his most vulnerable weakness. He fails to appreciate the meaning of the necessity for military or any form of organization or discipline. Most often he clearly feels that his military service is a kind of hateful and avoidable servitude to be tolerated as briefly as possible and then escaped from as rapidly as possible with as little investment as possible.

"He is what he himself calls sometimes a peacetime soldier and both of these latter types look upon military service either as a soft and safe job or hardship and sacrifice which are unfair and unreasonable to them personally.

"Based upon these facts about the imperialist United States aggressors the re-education and re-indoctrination programs for American prisoners proceeds as planned."

Summing up the general behavior of American POWS in Korea Major Mayer said:

"This was brain-washing. Frankly, it did everything the Communists wanted it to do. It didn't turn anybody into a Communist because it was not designed to turn anybody into a Communist. A small percentage of the people in the Communist world are Communists. The great majority are acquiescors. The great majority are simply cowed and somehow pushed along by this system which doesn't look like anything you can fight; it's not very dangerous-appearing; it just controls you. You don't have to be a coward to give in to it. The majority of Americans (in the Korean prison camps) in a sense did give in to it.

"This majority of Americans, more than half in these camps, never did anything they really could be criticized for. But just doing **nothing** has never been the way America in 168 years got the work done which produced this fabulous society. **When we get to the point where we just do not do anything and enjoy it, maybe we've become an old country and not a new one, and maybe we are well on the way down the western slope.** This is a valid question for us to debate; whether our success can destroy us?" (Emphasis in original.)

Every American should ponder Major Mayer's warning — when we have reached a point in our national development where we are satisfied to sit down

and do nothing about Communism “we may well be on our way down the slope.”

The Army’s study of what made American G.I.’s such easy marks for Communist brain-washers in Korea led to a completely unprecedented step in American military history. On August 17, 1955, President Eisenhower promulgated a new Code of Conduct for Members of the Armed Forces of the United States. Its significance was lost on most Americans who probably skipped over it in the newspapers as having nothing to do with them. For the first time in our history, the president found it necessary to define the principles of conduct for our men in uniform. The Code consists of six simple articles:

I

I am an American fighting man. I serve in the forces which guard my country and our way of life. I am prepared to give my life in their defense.

II

I will never surrender of my own free will. If in command I will never surrender my men while they have means to resist.

III

If I am captured I will continue to resist by all means available. I will make every effort to escape and aid others to escape. I will accept neither parole nor special favors from the enemy.

IV

If I become a prisoner of war I will keep faith with my fellow prisoners. I will give no information or take part in any action which might be harmful to my comrades. If I am senior, I will take command. If not, I will obey the lawful orders of those appointed over me and will back them up in every way.

V

When questioned, should I become a prisoner of war, I am bound to give only name, rank, service number and date of birth. I will evade answering further questions to the utmost of my ability. I will make no oral or written statements disloyal to my country and its allies or harmful to their cause.

VI

I will never forget that I am an American fighting man, responsible for my actions, and dedicated to the principles which made my country free. I will trust in God and in the United States of America.”

As there are a number of excellent original sources and studies on Communist brain-washing further discussion here seems unnecessary. It is the single great secret which the Communists sedulously tried to hide for years. It is impossible to understand the nature of Communism and how Communists operate without first thoroughly understanding brain-washing. Even more important is the knowledge of how to defeat Communist brain-washing should you ever fall into Communist hands. Study Edward Hunter’s **Brainwashing—The Story of**

Men Who Defied It. (Farrar Straus & Cudahy, 1956) or a later revised edition by the same author, **Brainwashing From Pavlov to Powers** (Bookmailer, New York, 1960). See also Thorin's **Ride to Panmunjom** (Regnery, 1956).

Recommended Reading

Government Reports and Pamphlets

- "Communist Interrogation, Indoctrination and Exploitation of American Military and Civilian Prisoners," Senate Permanent Sub-Committee on Investigations, 1957, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
- "Communist Psychological Warfare," House Comm. Un-American Activities 1958, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
- "The Fifth Weapon," Byfield, Bookmailer, New York.
- "How the Communists Control Thoughts and Attitudes," Philbrick, National Education Program, Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas, 1958.
- "Communist Indoctrination," Major Mayer, National Education Program, Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas, 1957.

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| The Rape of the Mind | Meerloo, World Publishing Co.,
Cleveland, 1956 |
| The Cardinal's Story | Swift, Macmillan, 1949 |
| The Brain-Washing Machine | Ruff, Robt. Hale, London, 1959 |
| Thought Reform and the Psychology
of Totalism | Lifton, W. W. Norton, 1961 |
| In Every War But One | Kinkead, W. W. Norton, 1959 |
| Calvary in China | Greene, Putnam, New York, 1953 |
| The Story of Mary Liu | Hunter, Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1957 |
| The Black Book on Red China | Hunter, Bookmailer, New York |
| Martyrs in Red China | Monsterleet, Regnery, Chicago, 1957 |
| I Met a Traveler | Becker, Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1958 |
| The Captives of Korea | White, Scribners, 1957 |
| Heroes Behind Barbed Wire | Hansen, Van Nostrand, 1957 |
| Four Years in a Red Hell | Rigney, Regnery, 1956 |
| The Accused | Weissberg, Simon & Schuster |
| A Ride to Panmunjom | Thorin, Regnery, 1956 |
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of Confession | Beck and Godin, Hurst & Blackett,
London, 1951 |
| Invitation to Moscow | Stypulkowski, Thames & Hudson,
London, 1951 |

A Psychological Warfare Casebook

The Communist Persuasion

Daugherty & Janowitz, 1958, Johns
Hopkins Univ. Press

Winance, P. J. Kenedy, New York,
1958

Lesson No. Thirteen

1. How would you define the term "brainwashing"?
2. Who first brought the word to the United States and from what country?
3. Describe Meerloo's account of the brainwashing techniques used on Cardinal Mindszenty by the Communists.
4. How was Colonel Frank H. Schwable outwitted by the Communists during his imprisonment?
5. In what war did not a single American prisoner escape from the enemy?
6. In what manner did the Chinese Communist Intelligence Officer describe the conduct of American troops in Korea?
7. What warning of Major William E. Mayer should all Americans heed?
8. What is the New Code of Conduct for Members of the Armed Forces of the United States?

CHAPTER XIV

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Some years ago the American Legion's director of counter-subversive activities in Washington, D. C., received a frantic long distance call from a top executive of one of our large soap powder companies. The soap man wanted to come to Washington immediately to discuss a matter of grave urgency to his company. He arrived the next morning.

The soap powder executive claimed that some member of the American Legion's Auxiliary was going around a Midwestern state charging that his soap company was giving \$25,000 a year to the Communist Party. This was terrible and could not something be done at once to put a stop to it? His distributors and lower echelon officials were bombarding him with telephone calls as their sales began to slump.

Inquiry soon developed the following facts. The Legion in that state had conducted a counter-subversive seminar at which various experts had delivered talks on Communism in various fields. One of the speakers, an authority on Communist infiltration in the entertainment industry, had made the statement that this company spent roughly \$25 million dollars a year on radio and TV advertising. As the various advertising and casting agencies which selected and put on this company's shows were notoriously indifferent to whether or not known Communists and frontiers were used on these shows it was safe to guess that at least ten percent of all the scriptwriters, actors, and others used in these shows were Communists or frontiers.

This meant that subversives pocketed probably \$250,000 a year from this one company alone for their dubious talents. As it is well known that party members must contribute at least ten percent and often much more of their earnings to the Communist Party and that fellow travelers were equally generous with their cash donations to fronts and pro-Communist enterprises, it would seem safe to assert that at least \$25,000 or more of the soap companies advertising budget went into the coffers of the Communist conspiracy.

The Legion sponsored lecturer then added that American housewives in the final analysis were responsible for this situation because it was their mass purchases of the company's products which made the huge advertising budget possible off which subversives were enabled to fatten their Communist Party contributions because of general apathy and indifference to their activities.

One of the good ladies attending this seminar, and naturally eager to carry out what she considered a highly patriotic duty, unfortunately telescoped

or shortened the whole long sequence into the flat assertion that the soap company contributed \$25,000 a year to the Communist Party. At least, she was so reported as having said this by way of a long chain of hearsays before it got to the top executive of the unhappy soap manufacturers. A phone call soon corrected the matter and the soap man went back to his company relieved and happy once more.

He also promised to see that greater care would be used in the future in selecting talent for their radio and TV soap operas and that subversives would be screened off of their shows as far as was humanly possible. There was marked improvement in this respect for a time so that the auxiliary lady's somewhat distorted story had a salutary effect on an important TV and radio advertiser as far as using known subversives was concerned. Protests direct from consumers of their products have a powerful influence on companies whose sales and success are dependent on good will of the general public. Eleven protest letters to a beverage company quickly knocked a Communist off one of their TV shows.

The incident pointed up once more the necessity for knowing thoroughly what you are doing and saying before you engage in any anti-Communist activity outside of your own field of experience and knowledge. The first lesson, then, is to "Know Your Enemy," his tactics, psychology, operating techniques, retaliatory potentials, and his weak spots. This is not easy or something you can master in a few evening's of reading. **Nothing helps the Communists and enemies of this country more than bungling and misguided wild charges against some individual who is not a Communist or frontier by an overzealous patriot long on indignation but short on facts and know how.**

The Communists and phony liberals invariably exploit such blunders by painting all anti-Communists as irresponsible and malicious "red-baiters," eager to slander innocent people as part of a fraudulent show of "superpatriotism." It has long been an axiom among seasoned anti-Communists never to make a mistake. One could literally turn out ten thousand sets of damning documents and facts against Communists without a ripple of public notice but one small, minor slip of a date or name is instantly seized upon by the whole nationwide cabal of anti-anti-Communists and literally hurled from coast to coast through every media they can command.

There is also the no small matter of libel. New York and other state courts have ruled that it is libelous *per se* to call a person a Communist without evidence sufficient to stand up in court and convince a jury. Litigation in such cases, even if you win the action, can be awfully expensive. Never call a person a **Communist** even if you have irrefutable proof of long C.P. membership. It seldom serves any useful purpose anyway. Leave this identification of Communists to organizations and publications which have the national prestige, standing, and, if necessary, resources to make their charges stick. You are on fairly safe grounds legally if you quote from or cite as authority some official Congressional committee report and **be careful not to add any comment or observations of your own.**

Communists are notoriously quick to threaten legal action even when they do not intend to go through with the threat. All secret C.P. members who are positive that no evidence exists to link them to the party are under party orders to sue or threaten to sue if anyone calls them a Communist. The object is mainly to discourage and scare people from identifying Communists and secondly to use retractions as proof that all such "phony charges" are the products of malice and ignorance. Hence, all anti-Communists who call other people **Communists** are either ignorant and irresponsible or malicious.

What can a lone individual with limited time and finances do to contribute his mite to the nation's defense against internal subversion? The answer is "plenty" if you have the will and the know-how.

Merely being "against" Communism or loudly announcing that you are "unalterably opposed to Communism" is not going to contribute very much to retarding Communist advances in this country. Edmund Burke is credited with having said, "For evil to triumph it is only necessary that good men do nothing." Merely "hating Communism and all its works" and then never doing anything about it has, during the past forty years in this country, obviously not inconvenienced or slowed down the Communists.

The first resolve therefore is "I will do something constructive and positive in the battle against subversion every week of the coming year." Communism, as Whittaker Chambers has defined it, is total evil and must therefore be met with direct and effective counter-action.

Step No. One. Inform yourself. Communists and their secret allies and sympathizers are invariably highly skilled and superbly trained. They are usually effective speakers, adroit debaters, skilled parliamentarians, and far above the average educational level of those they are seeking to seduce and subvert. All leading Communists have attended several training schools or academies in subversion. They have spent literally thousands of hours in study. They have passed through an endless series of tests and examinations to make sure they understand thoroughly not only the alleged "science" of Marxism-Lenism but every tactic and technique in their highly diversified arsenal of subversion. Appended to this chapter are two book lists, a basic or elementary one which represents absolute "must" reading for any intelligent understanding of the whole complex problem and a second or specialized list of a few of the best titles in various divisions or categories of Communism. Read and thoroughly understand at least a minimum of five or six government reports, five or six of the recommended pamphlets and three or four of the basic books.

If you do not have the time or the patience to do this elementary preparatory reading you cannot possibly join the fight for America. It is suggested that instead you make as liberal and as frequent financial contributions to the fight and let others better qualified do the fighting for you.

Step No. Two. Subscribe to at least one or two newsletters or publications which specialize in keeping Americans currently posted on the Communist Party "line" and the main propaganda objectives of the Communist Fifth Column in our midst. (See recommended list at the end of this chapter.)

The Communist Party "line" may be broadly defined as the major policy objectives of Soviet Russia and the general tactical line of the world Communist movement for weakening, dividing, confusing, demoralizing and destroying the enemy, ie., the non-Communist free world. At the present time the United States is regarded as the main enemy by the entire Communist world and hence is the chief target for concentrated Communist propaganda in every form from the printed word in fifty or more languages to around the clock broadcasts from Moscow to Peiping.

How is the party "line" transmitted to literally millions of Communists and secret supporters all over the world? It obviously cannot be done by sending letters or telegrams even through secure channels or secret couriers. The interception of just one incriminating dispatch, like that of the famous "Zimmerman note" from Germany to Mexico during World War I could lead to an international crisis. Time and long practice have perfected a solution that is almost impossible to expose.

Orders of critical importance, particularly where only a few top Communists are concerned are customarily sent through the Comintern Representative in each country, known familiarly as the "C.I. Rep." The C.I. Rep will get his message by word of mouth either from another deeply buried member of the underground or from some minor official at the Soviet or some Communist satellite embassy. Because they suspect the F.B.I. with watching Russians more carefully than Hungarians, Poles, or Czechs in this country, unimportant employees of Iron Curtain country embassies in this country are preferred. The original message, of course, came from Moscow by way of a diplomatic pouch under continuous armed guard all the way.

Directives of a more general character affecting all Communists and fellow travelers in a country are usually transmitted through Soviet or foreign Communist publications such as **New Times**, **World Marxist Review**, **International Affairs**, **Pravda**, **Izvestia**, or **The Kommunist**. The order deposing Earl Browder in 1945 and reversing the wartime collaborationist policies of the C.P.USA, appeared in an obscure French CP. paper, "**Cahiers du Communisme**." The authorship by Jacques Duclos, a top French Communist, was the key for those top Communists trained to look for such directives in innocuous places.

American echoes of such publications, **The Worker** (now a weekly but soon to become a semi-weekly), **New World Review**, **Political Affairs**, **Masses and Mainstream**, the Yiddish language **Freiheit**, and the West Coast **Peoples World** will pick up the directive, re-amplify it, and broadcast it to the party faithful. This is immediately followed by the periphery press — publications which cannot positively be proven to be Communist controlled but which nevertheless over a period of time are 80, 90, or 99 percent in complete consonance with the Communist Party "line" while they loudly deny having any connection with or sympathy for Communism. **The National Guardian**, **Monthly Review**, **The Churchman**, **I. F. Stone's Weekly**, **Social Questions Bulletin**, and the former **Protestant**, now practically defunct and published in Nova Scotia, fall into this category. Finally come the organs of Communist dominated unions and front organizations too numerous to list.

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Party meets at least four or five times a year to listen to any "reports" brought back by some official who has been to Moscow or to the capital of some Communist satellite. Any doubts as to interpretation, precedence, or emphasis and tactical handling are then discussed and clarified. Each member of the National Executive Committee then, in turn, passes the new "line" along to his own district committee, thus covering the whole United States. The district organizer or chairman then passes the order down to the lower echelons and every last member of the conspiracy.

Because Communist directives are couched in Aesopian coded language and also because it is often difficult for individuals to secure foreign Communist publications either by mail or in any but a few of our largest cities, the Church League suggests that you subscribe to one or two of the newsletters listed at the end of this chapter which specialize in reporting changes in the current C.P. "line."

The following are the main Communist objectives at present in rough order of precedence:

1. General and universal disarmament, beginning with nuclear disarmament and cessation of all nuclear testing.
2. Disarmament and neutralization of West Germany and surrender of West Berlin to the Communists.
3. Seating of Communist China in the United Nations and U.S. diplomatic recognition of the Chinese Reds.
4. The surrender of Quemoy and Matsu to Communist China and the ousting of Nationalist China from the Security Council of the United Nations.
5. Abandonment of all U.S. bases abroad and withdrawal of all U.S. forces from foreign bases.
6. The ousting of all European or white control over any and all colonies, protectorates, and foreign trusteeships.
7. The spurring of "nationalist" freedom drives in all so-called "colonial" countries even if those colonies have no desire to be cut adrift from the mother country for economic, political, or other reasons.
8. The scrapping of all anti-Communist legislation and the abolition of such Congressional committees as have given the Communists a bad time.
9. The scrapping of all loyalty and security programs in the Federal government and the restoration of the Communists to hold any position they may desire — or the party wants them to fill.
10. The restoration of free and unrestricted trade in all commodities between the free world and the Communist bloc in the interest of "international peace and goodwill."

In addition to these primary objectives important to Soviet Russia or the advance of world Communism, the Muscovites in this country have a number of pretended objectives which are purely camouflage for deceptive purposes or baited hooks for large masses of Americans having some deep concern or interest in them. All Communist propaganda, with monotonous repetition, harps on their alleged love for labor, Negro "liberation," and peace. This puts them on the side of the angels.

During World War II, before the United States was involved and Russia was in critical straits, Communists in American unions worked like Trojans to increase production, eliminate strikes and keep the supply lines to Russia loaded with the munitions, war materiel, and food which the embattled Soviets needed. Workers who talked strike for higher wages or other reasons were told by the Communists to forget it and speed up production. Once the Soviet fatherland was no longer in danger and the Nazis were falling back, the line shifted once more and the Communists resumed their boasted "trade union militancy."

Likewise Communists always claim to be for "peace" — as they understand the term. Even when drowning a Hungarian freedom uprising in blood and terror, they are "fighting for peace." The Chinese Reds, while exterminating 65,000 poorly armed but desperate Tibetans, claim to be advancing world peace.

Their pretended interest in the American Negro is equally fraudulent and hypocritical but Communists are smart enough to realize that the color question is a chink in America's armor which can be exploited to set off a train of highly explosive and divisive hatreds and racial friction in this country. The exacerbation of the Negro problem by the Communists is a sound military tactic of creating a diversion in the enemy's rear so that he cannot muster all of his forces on the front against the main enemy — Communism.

It is most important, therefore, clearly to understand the differences between primary Soviet and Communist objectives, and secondary and diversionary activities which are designed to divide, confuse, and demoralize the non-Communist world. In Haiti, for example, where there are very few whites who have practically no rights, the color question cannot be exploited. Here the Communists agitate black against black mainly along economic and cultural lines. They agitate and organize the shoeless blacks against those who wear shoes and have better educations.

Step No. Three. Communists and their vast corps of concealed supporters are tireless and devoted workers for their perverted "cause." They work literally sixteen hours or more a day, seven days a week, 365 days a year. They never waste time complaining how bad things are or talking to each other. Rebuffs, reverses, failures, and trouble merely serve to spur them on to greater efforts. An old Communist boast in this country brought over from Russia forty years ago is: "There is no fortress which a Bolshevik cannot take by storm." Or, if they can't take it by storm, they can undermine and blow it sky high from within by artful tunneling and sapping operations.

Anti-Communists, making any serious efforts at all, must discipline themselves to be as equally tireless and devoted in the struggle to save this country and all that western civilization and Christianity implies as the Communists are in trying to destroy it. Do not try to fight alone. Join and actively support reputable organizations which convince you that they are doing a good job in combatting subversion.

Step No. Four. Books and pamphlets are most important as ammunition against the enemy. Don't worry about Communist or pro-Communist books in your public school and other libraries. It sometimes takes an expert to determine

whether or not a book is really pro-Communist or not. Instead, insist to your librarian that the antidotes to such pro-Soviet literature be acquired and made available to the library's users. See to it that sound books such as those appearing in our bibliography in this work are placed on the shelves of your public, high school, and other libraries. Sometimes this will take considerable pressure and persuasion with librarians with secret pro-Communist sympathies. A librarian in a small New England town a few years ago fought like a tigress to prevent her library from accepting a free copy of *Witness* offered by the local American Legion post. Her bookburning excuse was that the book was "biased and unreliable." She was quite proud, however to display Owen Lattimore's *Ordeal By Slander*.

Whittaker Chambers admits that it was a chance reading of Tchernavin's *I Speak For the Silent*, one of the first books to reveal the horrors of Soviet slave labor camps, which planted the first small seeds of doubt in his mind while he was an important, trusted agent in the Communist underground. It led ultimately to his extraordinary defection.

Step No. Five. Every time you mail a letter you pay postage for a full ounce which you seldom use. Business and professional men who mail out quantities of mail every month should have on hand quantities of small, light leaflets advertising a new anti-Communist book, seminar, or other anti-Communist activity. Use that ounce! Always keep on hand a supply of Congressional Record reprints or other counter-subversive materials to inclose with every letter you put in the mails. It rides free anyway.

Step No. Six. Watch your newspapers, magazines, fraternal and other publications which carry letters to the editor. Note how often leftists take advantage of such free media to get their views before the public at no expense other than a few minutes work and four cent stamp. **Do the same only do it better and oftener.** Never let a pro-Soviet or un-American letter appear in a publication to which you subscribe without promptly answering and exposing it. The front is everywhere and this is an important sector of the front.

Step No. Seven. If you can't find a local organization which engages in any intelligent and effective counter-subversive activity then help found one. Locate a few experts with former FBI, Army, Navy or other intelligence experience and form a small study and action group. Meet regularly and see that every member subscribes to and reports on a different newsletter or magazine, thus reducing expenses and dividing the work of reading and digesting various publications which specialize in exposing Communist activities. Such a group can also form a small and highly useful library by each member buying only one book and then circulating all the books not only to your own group but to friends and relatives and business associates. Starting a small reading room in a good location and stocking it with counter-subversive reading matter is highly effective.

Step No. Eight. Doctors, dentists and others with waiting rooms have a wonderful opportunity to spread the word. Always have a fresh supply of small and easy-to-read pamphlets and government reports on hand with a small sign, "Please Take Home and Give to Your Friends" displayed nearby.

Step No. Nine. Christmas gifts often acquire a meaningless character when you hurriedly buy small presents and give them to relatives and friends without any real knowledge as to whether they appreciate or can use the gift. Why not be different this year? Either give subscriptions to **News and Views** or some other anti-Communist newsletter or a good new book. Communists and their hordes of secret sympathizers go to extraordinary lengths and trouble to suppress and prevent the sale of books exposing Russia or Communism. Getting our books into circulation against such plotting is therefore a major contribution to the fight.

Step No. Ten. See that your local civic, service, and fraternal organizations use anti-Communist speakers at their luncheons, dinners, or other meetings. Here again, the Communists, internationalists, and radicals are so far ahead of us that it is really pitiful. They have even set up speakers' bureaus which undertake to supply speakers at little or no cost, provided, of course, that these speakers are free to inject their own particular brand of ideological poison into the proceedings. There are literally dozens of highly interesting and effective speakers on our side available for a small honorarium and their travel expenses. The Church League is in the process of compiling a speakers list for various parts of the country and will try to supply speakers provided sufficient advance notice, the subject desired, and approximate fee available is stated.

Step No. Eleven. Your home is your castle. You don't have to entertain Communists or objectionable people in your home via radio or TV. There is something you can do about it. **Write to the sponsor** — not to the station. Get your facts from Congressional Committee reports or a responsible source of information. **MAKE NO CHARGES** but merely state that you object to So-and-So on such and such a show as you understand that he or she has a front record, citing source of your information and asking the sponsor to do something about it. Eleven letters knocked a Communist off of a beverage program.

Letters of protest eight and nine years ago effected quite a housecleaning in radio and TV, but when the protests ceased the Communists started drifting back again. This also applies to your local or neighborhood movie house. They are all extremely sensitive today to public good will. Warn them in advance against booking pictures with known Communists or Fifth Amendment witnesses. One or two letters will be dismissed as coming from cranks but a dozen or more, particularly from people known to the management or officers of Legion posts or other organizations are usually taken seriously. Remember — the front is everywhere, even in your neighborhood movie house where you should not be expected to spend your hard-earned American dollars to see a picture written by a highly paid Communist script writer, directed by a man who boasts he will hire anyone he feels like, and carrying several Commies in the cast at annual salaries ten times that which you will ever earn in your life. Why subsidize traitors?

Step No. Twelve. Always defend those who are fighting for you on the front line against subversion. Never permit anyone in your hearing to slur the F.B.I., the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee, The Church League of America, the International Council of Christian Churches, the American Council of Christian Churches or

any other organization which you know to be fighting subversion. This applies even more so to individuals whether they be former Communists who have helped your government in exposing the Communist conspiracy, public officials conducting anti-Communist work as part of their duties, or anti-Communists like yourself. An attack on one is an attack on all of us. Show the same loyalty and esprit de corps which the radicals and Communists display in defending each other.

The most effective and quickest way to squelch critics of anti-Communists is to demand their **bona fides**. Ask them what they know about Communism and expose their ignorance. Ask them how many Congressional reports they have ever read exposing Communism; what books have they read; have they ever attended a Congressional hearing on Communist activity; have they ever attended a seminar or even a lecture on Communism by a qualified authority. The quickest and surest way to close up a blatherskite is to expose his ignorance and incompetence. You will find that these people are long on opinions and notions gotten second hand from dubious sources, but awfully short on facts and real knowledge.

Know Your Facts

Above all, be sure that you know what you are talking about. Check your facts. Avoid wild and sensational charges which you cannot prove. Be fair. Don't undertake tasks beyond your ability to consummate. If in doubt, find out and consult an expert. If necessary, write to your Congressman and have him get the information from the House Committee on Un-American Activities. This Committee, by regulation of Congress, may service requests only from members of Congress. The files of the Committee, however, by law, are available to every member of Congress upon written request for information. What the Congressman does with the information given him is no concern of the Committee — it cannot bind or obligate him to keep it confidential.

Do not write to the F.B.I. for information on questionable individuals or organizations. It is an investigative agency which by statute may make its findings available only to the Attorney General. It cannot even service members of Congress. Its files are confidential. There is no Executive agency to which you can write to ascertain whether an individual is a subversive or has a Communist record.

The Subversive Activities Control Board, Washington, D.C. has held hearings on about twenty Communist front organizations and made Recommended Decisions on most of them. This information is available to the public.

How To Spot A Communist

All this raises the natural question, "Well, how does one spot a suspected Communist?" The answer is that it is not easy. Also it is not important as far as the average citizen is concerned. Communists are organized into several different strata or protective belts around a hard, inner core, depending on their tactical value to the party and security considerations.

At the very heart of the conspiratorial apparatus lies a small inner core of seasoned, trained party members most of whom occupy some open functionary status — officials, editors of party papers, organizers, etc. They obviously cannot deny being C.P. members and therefore never make any bones about it. They have spent years in an apparatus, being rigorously tested and indoctrinated at every stage of their development. Most of them have received specialized training either in Moscow or at some secret training academy in a Communist country under maximum security conditions. (See Leonhard's "Child of the Revolution" and Meyers' "The Moulding of Communists.")

Part of this inner core or perhaps more correctly, closely linked to it, is a separate top secret center of underground people engaged in espionage, terror, or other illegal work known in the party as "specialized work." Their identities are not even known to each other or to open functionaries of the party. They operate under elaborately contrived protective covers as innocuous citizens and even the F.B.I. has a hard time detecting and keeping track of them. See J. Edgar Hoover's **Masters of Deceit** and appended list of books on the underground and espionage. The average patriotic citizen, even if he lived next door to and played golf with such an underground operator, would probably never stumble across his secret. Such underground operatives never make a radical utterance or gesture. In fact, some may even pose as "anti-Communists."

The next inner circle or belt is composed of trusted and seasoned party members who are not functionaries or full time open C.P. workers. Depending on the nature of their work and their expendability, they may or may not openly admit C.P. membership. In the United States during periods of national laxity and indifference with few or no legal or other disabilities, a sizeable percentage may openly admit being Communists. During periods of hostility to the Communist Party or with tightening laws and security controls these people will pretend to become disillusioned and will formally fall out of the conspiracy for obvious tactical reasons and sheer self-protection. This belt might be likened to the privates in an army, just as the inner core would be the general staff and officers corps. They wear the uniform of the Fifth Column and blindly and faithfully carry out all orders coming down from above.

The next, and a more outer belt, is composed of relatively unimportant and expendable people who may or may not be formal C.P. members. If they are enrolled they are of relatively poor and limited ideological material but can be used to sell party publications, solicit subscriptions, riot and demonstrate in Communist inspired enterprises, pack union and other meetings to help beef up the Communist fraction, and do other general auxiliary corps work. Others may be of such poor revolutionary material that they cannot be trusted in any roles which would identify them as Communists.

At this point it is important to point out that there has been no such thing as a "card-carrying Communist" according to J. Edgar Hoover since about 1947. About that time the Communist conspiracy, for understandable reasons, stopped issuing cards which could be used as legal proof in convicting Communists. The production of the numbers of the C.P. cards issued to several top Hollywood figures at House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in 1947 embar-

rassed both the Communist witnesses and the C.P.; so, that practice was immediately ended.

There is also abundant testimony that many individuals who asked or even demanded C.P. cards were turned down on the grounds that they could be more useful to the Party if they could truthfully deny such membership. Also they would be free to sue for libel if they were called Communists with a good chance of collecting handsome settlements. Again, here is a Communist whom the average patriotic citizen had better leave alone — or to the F.B.I.

The virulence with which the Communists and their secret supporters, the pseudo-liberals, have continuously attacked the House Committee on Un-American Activities is eloquent proof that this permanent committee of Congress has been most effective in the field of exposing unknown Communists, even though the Supreme Court, in several decisions, has attempted to tell Congress that such exposure “for mere exposure’s sake” is unconstitutional. The Committee has been continuously charged by the Congress to investigate and report on the:

“extent, character, and objects of Un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and Un-American propaganda instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin . . . and all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.” (Rule XI, Rules Adopted 86th Congress.)

The obvious and simple fact that it would be utterly impossible to investigate the character, extent, and objectives of Communist propaganda without getting an approximate idea of just **who** was carrying on this subversive activity must be plain to even a child. Supreme Court decisions, nevertheless, have ruled in effect that while it may be proper and legal for Congress to expose, restrict, and inhibit Communist activities, it is highly improper and unconstitutional to expose those carrying out such subversion against our government and the nation’s security. The alleged “reasoning” behind some of these Supreme Court decisions is most fearsome and awesome to behold.

Sympathizers And Fellow Travellers

We now come to an important part of the Communist apparatus about which neither the F.B.I. nor Congressional or state investigative committees can do very much. Indeed, this most important adjunct to the Communist Party was set up and is directed to operate “within the law” to the maximum advantage and utility of the conspiracy. This is the thick, tough and almost impenetrable belt or outer strata of open and secret supporters, sympathizers, and fellow travelers.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, in his testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities described the three classifications of individuals who aid the Communist Conspiracy as follows:

My feelings concerning the Communist Party of the United States are well known. I have not hesitated over the years to express my concern and apprehension. As a con-

sequence, its professional smear brigades have conducted a relentless assault against the FBI. You who have been members of this committee also know the fury with which the **party**, its **sympathizers and fellow travelers** can launch an assault. I do not mind such attacks. What has been disillusioning is the manner in which they have been able to enlist support often from apparently well-meaning but **thoroughly duped persons**.

Anyone who opposes the American Communist is at once branded as a "disrupter," a "Fascist," a "Red baiter," or a "Hitlerite," and becomes the object of a systematic campaign of character assassination. This is easily understood because the basic tactics of the Communist Party are deceit and trickery.

Despite some relative and minor differences between these three categories their main characteristic is that they all support and defend the Communist conspirators with time, money, legal support, or their own prestige and standing in the community. This support and help may vary from occasional, sporadic and minor to practically continuous, persistent, and very important, depending on each individual and his means, as well as degree of interest. Some fellow travelers hop on the red bandwagon just to ride to their own particular station, in other words, just to defend some particular issue or cause of the moment.

Others boarded the Moscow train twenty or thirty years ago, with no thought of ever getting off and in fact managing to hang on around hairpin turns, sudden stops, and back flip-flops which unseated even veteran Communists, such as the Moscow purge trials, the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939, and the bloody suppression of the heroic Hungarian freedom-fighters.

The occasional supporter, as distinguished from the veteran fellow traveler, is never under Communist Party discipline or control but he is under a certain amount of influence and manipulation. Willi Muenzenberg, a leading German Communist, dubbed the "Henry Ford of the fronts," first conceived and set up these mass booby traps for the "innocents," as he called those duped by the Communists. Willi described these non-party masses of dupes and willing collaborators as people "who have not yet mustered the courage to take the final step and join the Party, but who are nevertheless in sympathy with the Communist movement and are prepared to follow us part of the way." Muenzenberg then proceeded to demonstrate to his skeptical comrades that these so-called "mass organizations" could be used to extend enormously the influence of the Communists in areas and spheres where they could never hope to get very far on their own.

The history, purpose and operational techniques of Communist fronts has already been discussed in a separate chapter.

Because most Communist fronts can operate safely within the law and attract to them and exploit great masses of non-Communists and even some anti-Communists, they may be said to form one of the most important, if not **the** most important part of the Communist apparatus. Determining which are truly Communist fronts and exposing them in order to protect the public is therefore a most important public service which patriotic and other organizations can render the country in its fight for survival. It definitely should not be undertaken by individuals unless they have ample financial and legal resources plus will and determination to see a fight through to the finish.

Pseudo-liberals, secret pro-Communist sympathizers, and uninformed individuals often raise the objection that there is no legal basis for private organizations to engage in exposing Communist fronts, that such activity is "vigilantism" of doubtful legal and moral validity.

Communist fronts, as we have demonstrated in another chapter succeed, largely because of their use of fraud and deception. Legally and morally, there is no difference between a Communist front and some phony charitable racket which collects money and reputable sponsorship under false pretenses for purposes bearing no relationship to professed aims.

Around the turn of the century frauds and swindles were taking such a high annual toll running into millions of dollars that businessmen became alarmed. Most fly-by-night schemes and rackets were designed either to stay just within the law or operated on the premise that legal action would be more costly than the small sums lost. Better Business Bureaus began springing up in larger cities all over the United States. They issued bulletins or newsletters warning the public against current swindles being operated in their communities. They frequently named names and identified the most troublesome swindlers and confidence men **without any legal proof to back up their charges.**

It is one of the curious and inexplicable mysteries of the liberal mind that the same editors and others who praise Better Business Bureaus for exposing con games and swindles defrauding the public will excoriate a Senator McCarthy, the American Legion, or the Church League of America for trying to perform the same public service in warning Americans against the con games and front organization swindles operated by known enemies of this country. What is a high public service by the Better Business Bureau becomes "vicious smearing of innocent people by wild, and unsubstantiated charges" when carried on by patriots against known subversives.

The Anti-Anti-Communist

Very little has been written about that peculiarly American phenomenon, the anti-anti-Communist. It naturally goes without saying that all Communists and their open and secret supporters are against anti-Communists. Also that two negatives add up to a plus. Yet many of those who vehemently denounce and attack anti-Communists deny any pro-Communist sympathies and in fact, claim to be better anti-Communists than those they vilify and abuse.

The dilemma of the real liberal caught on the horns of hating conservatism and all its works and yet fearing to be identified with totalitarian Communists has been brilliantly dissected by Chambers in **Witness**. He has a real problem. On the other hand the pseudo-liberal or totalitarian liberal, who, needless to say, is no liberal at all, has no problem of conscience. He secretly envies or admires the Communists but for reasons of economic and social security and standing cannot be openly identified with them even as a fellow traveler. That would be too risky. So, he operates in what may be called **franc tireur** or guerilla warfare areas.

He never shoots or snipes at Communists. To do so would not only mark him as a "reactionary" — a label he loathes and fears — but it would also be dangerous. Communists are pretty good marksmen and they instantly return any and all fire directed at them. So, he confines his sniping and back-stabbing to anti-Communists, a fairly safe game as they have no retaliatory organization or power worth mentioning. Secondly, they are also fully occupied shooting at the Communists and dodging their return fire to have much time to protect their flanks and rear from anti-anti-Communist fire.

There is also, of course, the possibility that at least some anti-anti-Communists are buying what is called "revolution insurance" in Europe. It has been a long established practice in certain European countries for "smart" people secretly to finance or make small contributions to the Communists as "revolution insurance" against the possibility that some day, perhaps in their lifetime, the Communists may come to power. To have made periodic and substantial contributions to the Communists, while outwardly pretending to be anti-Communist, might then pay off handsomely.

Psychologists, who have studied the anti-anti-Communist in operation in the United States, reason that some of them are secretly or sub-consciously pro-Communist. They want to render some small but **safe** service to the Communist Party, and knocking off a few troublesome enemies of the Communists seems an ideal way of doing it. Posing as defenders of the "Bill of Rights, fair play, human decency, the American way," is always part of the act.

The line they use is: "I abhor Communism and all its works but some of the methods used by 'misguided zealots and vigilantes' is far more dangerous to our basic freedoms than the Communists." **Mark these people down as frauds, fools, or concealed pro-Communists. If we concede the premise that Communism is today the single greatest threat to western civilization and Christianity, then it follows logically that there cannot be an equal or greater threat — only lesser ones. That there are lesser evils loose in the world is readily conceded. To use a lesser evil as a diversion to draw attention and concern away from a greater evil is obviously the work of either a fool or a designing scoundrel.**

This is not to argue that one must use fire to fight fire or that the ends of defeating and destroying Communism, justify any and all means to accomplish that supremely desirable objective. It simply means that lesser evils and dangers should not be magnified or distorted into being something greater and more evil than Communism.

Guerrillas in civilian clothes, who lurk behind cover to snipe and kill soldiers in uniform fighting against an enemy, are customarily shot on sight under international law. The fact that they have no contact with the enemy and are acting entirely on their own initiative is not recognized as any mitigating factor.

There is a world conflagration rapidly destroying the entire noble edifice of western culture and civilization. It is called Communism. Firemen, both professionals and civilian volunteers, are very belatedly bringing up fire-fighting equipment and dragging out their hoses. At this point a number of individuals begin cutting the hoses and blocking whole streets to the fire-trucks with barri-

cares. Their argument is that the firemen are cutting across private property, using water not yet paid for by the city, and, in general, violating a number of constitutional guarantees and municipal laws. You know what would happen to them! They would be arrested and thrown into jail, laws or no laws.

Some might even argue that the firefighters were incompetent and lacked training. They would still be arrested for malicious meddling and thrown into the hoosegow. Yet, this is precisely the argument used by the anti-anti-Communists even though they have absolutely no demonstrable certificates of competence or training themselves. The anti-anti-Communist cuts the firehoses of the anti-Communists at the greatest conflagration in the history of the world when he, himself, has never put out a fire in a wastepaper basket!

So the next time you hear any criticism of the alleged bad "methods" of some particular anti-Communist — and they admittedly might not all be the most effective — ask first for a certificate of experience and training. The most competent engineer in the world would not dare to criticize the surgery of even a second rate surgeon. The most brilliant trial lawyer in the United States would be a rash man, indeed, if he began to pick flaws in the construction plans of an Empire State building. The thoughts and advice of the most saintly and learned theologian in this country would be of little value to engineers trying to control a major Mississippi River flood breaking through the levees.

Combating and exposing subversion is a highly specialized calling. We, admittedly, have had a number of eager beaver volunteers whose contributions to the fight, while sincere and patriotic, lacked for experience and real know-how. Hose-cutting, by even more ignorant and less qualified, would-be or pretended fire-fighters, merely serves to increase the problem of putting out the fire. This is why seminars, even if their curricula are elementary, are so important. At least learn how to uncoil and lay a hose properly. Or bring up a bucket of water. **BUT DON'T CUT THE FIREMENS' HOSES — THE HOUSE THAT IS BURNING DOWN BELONGS TO YOU TOO!**

Recommended Reading

Government Reports and Pamphlets

"Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," House Comm. Un-American Activities, 1957, Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

"Soviet Total War," House Comm. Un-American Activities, 1956, Wash., D. C.

"The Communist Party of the U.S., A Handbook for Americans," Senate Internal Security Sub-Comm. Govt. Printing Office.

"Communist Strategy of Protracted Conflict," House Comm. on Un-American Activities, 1958, Govt. Printing Office.

"House Committee on Un-American Activities, What It Is, What It Does, 1958." Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

The Annual Reports of both the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee and the House Comm. Un-American Activities.

Report of the American Bar Association, 1958, Comm. on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives.

National Education Program, Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas. Series on Communism by Matthews, Mayer and others.

"Inside the Communist Conspiracy" (16 page bibliography) 25¢, Phyllis Schlafly, 1212 Callahan Drive, Alton, Ill.

Periodicals and Newsletters

American Legion magazine	720 Fifth Ave., New York. \$1.50 per year
Bookmailer News	Box 101, Murray Hill Stat. \$1.00 per year
Christian Beacon	Box 190, Collingswood, N.J. \$2 per year
Communist Line Bulletin (Budenz)	Institute for Community Action, Rose and Oak Streets, Flushing, N. Y. \$3 per year
Counterattack	250 West 57th St., New York. \$25 per year
The Firing Line	American Legion, Box 1055, Indianapolis, Ind. \$3 per year
News and Views	Church League of America, 1407 Hill Ave., Wheaton, Ill. (to contributors)
Dan Smoot Report	P.O. Box 9611, Lakewood Station, Dallas, Texas. \$10.
The Tablet	1 Hanson Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. \$4 per year (weekly)
USA	829 Park Ave., New York, \$20

Books

The Church League of America considers the following twelve titles as basic to any understanding of the nature of Communism and as the best books published during the past ten years in their respective fields. These titles should be considered a minimum library and should be in every library. We suggest these twelve titles as forming a good nucleus for both private libraries and anti-Communist libraries for American Legion posts, study groups, patriotic organizations, etc.

Witness	Chambers, Random House
Techniques of Communism	Budenz, Regnery, Chicago
The Naked Communist	Skousen, Ensign Publishing Co., Salt Lake City

The Front Is Everywhere
Collectivism in the Churches

Kintner, Univ. of Okla. Press
Bundy, Church League of America,
Wheaton, Ill., or Devin-Adair, New
York

Protracted Conflict
Web of Subversion
Conquest of the American Mind
Guide to Anti-Communist Action
Brainwashing from Pavlov to Powers
Century of Conflict
Edge of War

Straus-Hupe et al, Harper
Burnham, John Day
Wittmer, Meador Publishing, Boston
Bouscaren, Regnery
Hunter, Bookmailer, New York
Possony, Regnery
Atkinson, Regnery

The following titles are recommended as suitable for high school age,
13-18.

I Was a Slave in Russia
The Key to Peace
Communism in Our World
A Primer on Communism

Noble, Devin-Adair
Manion, Heritage Foundation, Chicago
Caldwell, John Day
Cronyn, Dutton (paperback)

Recommended Books

America Faces World Communism
McCarthy & His Enemies
The Enemy At His Back
Masters of Deceit
Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps
The Big Decision

Bouscaren, Vantage Press
Buckley & Bozell, Regnery
Elizabeth Brown, Devin-Adair
Hoover, Henry Holt & Co.
Lipper, Regnery
Cvetic, The Big Decision, Box 2789,
Hollywood 28, California

How Communists Negotiate
Communism and Christ
Communist War on Religion
Our Secret Allies
1984
Soviet Gold
The China Story
The Yalta Betrayal
Foundations
For the Skeptic
Red Star over Cuba

Joy, Macmillan
Lowry, Morehouse-Gorham
MacEoin & Zombory, Devin-Adair
Lyons, Little Brown
Orwell (various editions)
Petrov, Farrar Straus & Cudahy
Utley, Regnery
Wittmer, Caxton Printers
Wormser, Devin-Adair
Munson, The Bookmailer
Weyl, Devin-Adair

Inside the State Department
 American Might and Soviet Myth
 In the Name of Conscience
 While You Slept
 America's Retreat From Victory
 Tito — Moscow's Trojan Horse
 The Freeman's Library
 Thought Reform of the Chinese
 Intellectuals
 China Under Communism
 Communism in American Politics

 Dialectical Materialism
 Six Keys to the Soviet System
 Decision for China
 American Communism
 Anatomy Of Revolution
 Blueprint For World Conquest
 Brainwashing In The High Schools
 Brain Washing In Red China
 Brainwashing, the Story Of Men
 Who Defied It
 Century Of Conflict
 I Chose Freedom
 Collectivism On The Campus
 Coming Defeat Of Communism
 Communism In The United States
 Communism Versus The Negro
 Communist Party In Action
 Communist Trail In America
 Conquest By Terror
 The Cry Is Peace
 Czechoslovakia Enslaved
 El Campesino — Life and Death
 In Soviet Russia
 Forced Labor In Soviet Union
 God & Man At Yale

Barron, Comet, New York
 Campaigne, Regnery
 Khokhlov, McKay
 Flynn, Devin-Adair
 McCarthy, Devin-Adair
 Draskovich, Regnery
 Hazlitt, Van Nostrand

Chen, Oxford Univ. Press, N.Y.
 Walker, Yale Univ. Press
 Saposs, Public Affairs Press,
 Washington, D.C.
 Wetter, Praeger
 Wolfe, Beacon Press
 Dr. Sih, Regnery
 Oneal & Werner, Dutton
 Ypsilon, Prentice Hall
 W. H. Chamberlain, Regnery
 Root, Devin-Adair
 E. Hunter, Vanguard

E. Hunter, Farrar, Straus & Cudahy
 Possony, Regnery
 Kravchenko, Scribners
 Root, Devin-Adair
 J. Burnham, John Day
 Browder, International Publications
 Nolan, Regnery
 Rossi, Yale University Press
 Spolansky, MacMillan
 Stowe, Random House
 Budenz, Regnery
 Ripka, MacMillan

Gonzales & Gorkin, Putnam
 Dallin & Nicolaevsky, Yale Univ. Press
 Buckley, Regnery

In Every War But One
 The Lattimore Story
 I Led Three Lives
 From Maj. Jordan's Diaries
 Men Without Faces
 New Soviet Empire
 No Wonder We Are Losing
 100 Red Days
 One Who Survived
 Organization Weapon
 Out Of Bondage
 The Real Soviet Russia
 The Realities Of World Power
 Red Masquerade
 The Road Ahead
 Russian Revolution
 Russia's Soviet Economy
 The Secret World
 Seeds Of Treason

 Shanghai Conspiracy
 Spies, Dupes and Diplomats
 Stalin and German Communism
 Still The Rice Grows Green
 Strategy For Survival
 Struggle For the World
 Total Empire
 The Web Of Subversion
 Whole Of Their Lives
 The Witness
 The Yen'an Way

Kinkead, Norton
 Flynn, Devin-Adair
 Philbrick, Grosset & Dunlap
 Jordan & Stokes, Harcourt Brace
 Budenz, Harper Bros.
 Dallin, Yale University Press
 Morris, The Bookmailer
 Sisson, Yale University Press
 Barmine, Putnam
 Selznick, McGraw Hill Co.
 Bentley, Devin-Adair
 Dallin, Yale University Press
 Kieffer, Davis McKay Co.
 Calomiris, Lippincott
 Flynn, Devin-Adair
 Chamberlain, Macmillan
 Schwartz, Prentice Hall
 Deriabin & Gibney, Doubleday
 Lasky & de Toledano,
 Funk & Wagnalls
 Willoughby, Dutton
 de Toledano, Little, Brown & Co.
 Fischer, Harvard University Press
 Caldwell, Regnery
 Kieffer, David McKay Co.
 Burnham, Day
 Walsh, Bruce Co.
 Burnham, Day
 Gitlow, Scribners
 Chambers, Random House
 Ravines, Scribners